









LIVES

Written in Latin

CORIN

Done into English

BY

Several Gentlemen in the Church
Verily of O. N. O. M.

The Third Edition

LONDON

Printed for J. W. at the Temple-Bar in
Fleet-Street. MDCCLXX

THE
LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Written in *Latin*

BY

CORN. NEPOS,

AND

Done into *English*.

BY

Several Gentlemen in the Uni-
versity of OXON.

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To the Right Honourable

JAMES

EARL of ABBINGDON,

Lord Lieutenant

OF THE

County of OXFORD, &c.

MY LORD,

THESE Lives of *Cornelius*
Nepos, which I now Pre-
sent your Lordship in *English*,
have had the good Fortune to
survive in their Original (the
Latin) seventeen hundred years;
And tho the Observation of the
Excellent Lord *Bacon* be very
Ingenious, *That Time is like a*
a 2 *River,*

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*River, which bears up the Stubble,
and such light things, but lets the
more weighty and substantial sink;*
yet must this be taken for a Si-
militude, and as such is only ap-
plicable to the Abuses which
the Authority of precedent Ages,
as well as other Humane Con-
cerns, is and may be subject to.
For to suppose, that those things
which have past the Test of the
wisest and severest Ages, have at
last nothing of intrinsic value
in themselves, but owe the
long possessing of Fame to a Hit
of Fortune, to the Humour or
tame Obsequiousness of a long
Succession of Admirers, is so
bold an Attempt upon the Rea-
son of Mankind, that he that
makes it, *must either have much
of the God, or a great deal of
the*

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the Fool; By invincible Argument to demonstrate the Mistakes of the Learned World in all its Stages, requires a Soul of a Divine Perspicacity, clear from those Incumbrances that have misguided the Prospect of other Mortals. To oppose a single capricious Opinion to the collected force of so many Men's Judgments, looks like the Hero in the Play, or the Knight-Errant in the Romance; who with two Legs and two Arms, Fights and Routs whole Millions. I do not (My Lord) Apologize for our Author, as if He need beg a Blessing from Antiquity, or wanted the Testimonials of Precedent Ages to support his Credit; had he been Written in this time he is Translated, there is worth enough

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nough in Him to recommend Him to all Lovers of History. *Cornelius Nepos* Liv'd in an Age that had the greatest Taste of Good sense of any possibly since the Creation. Eloquence did not then consist in the gaudy Trimming of Metaphors, or the forc'd acuteness of a short cut Period, but Good Sense naturally and cleanly Express'd, was the Language *Augustus* and his Court encourag'd. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeness of *Cicero*, but yet he has nothing but what is Manly and Strong ; and if my weak Judgment informs me right, there runs through his Writings a Gentile Vein of speaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man remov'd above the *Pedant* or *Plebeian*.
Here

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Here it must be confest, he is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the Expression; but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be sometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the opinion of most Critics, that if there be any fault in *Tully* himself, 'tis that he is too Set and Formal in his Stile. There are some Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts, and the mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleasing; While on the other Hand there are others in which Nature seems to have made agreeable mistakes; Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal observance of Exactness is disgusting. There is as much difference between the Gentile practise of

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Rhetorick, and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the Gentile Address of a Gentleman, and the fulsome Compliment of a School-Master. Such is his Stile, that it seems to give *Cornelius Nepos* a pretence to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose Ancestors have reflected greater Honor upon Learning and Learned Societies, than they could ever receive from them. 'Tis in the Great Name of the *Bartu's*, we meet the two greatest Ornaments of Mankind conjoyn'd, Learning and Nobility; and in that Generous Noble Blood, not only Honor, but Wisedome are convey'd. The reason *Petronius Arbiter* gives, why

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why good Sense and true Reason were in his Age in the decline, is, *Because every Man must fish with such baits he thinks will take*; but says the same Ingenious Author, *We have lost the generous Palate*; Had your Lordship Liv'd in that time, there could have been no occasion for this general Complaint. In your Lordship a *Virgil* or a *Horace* might have found an *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas*, who did not only receive the Compliments of those Great Men, but understood their Worth. Our Author has in short drawn the Greatest Heroes that *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and even *Afric* it self could boast, and 'tis to him that *Rome* does owe its *Atticus*. It often happens, that a Prince

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Prince is better represented by his Covns, then by his Statues ; so without detracting from the just praise of others, *Nepos* may possibly give as lively an Idea of an *Alcibiades* or *Themistocles*, as those who have drawn out their Descriptions to a greater length ; For as in Mens Faces, so in their Actions, there are certain peculiar Airs that distinguish one from another ; if you hit these, you give the Character as effectually, as if your Canvass was as large as the Object, and you took in every Hair. The design of History is to instruct by Example, and Correct the Infirmities of Life ; to Trace out the Roads by which Great Men arriv'd at Fame, and the Rocks they have split against. All the reward

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reward We can pay to defunct
virtue, is a grateful remembrance
of it, and Vice is a Detestation to
Posterity. *Phocion's* Beneficence
will be an Eternal Monument :
Eumenes his unshaken Loyalty
to the Posterity of his Prince
will never be forgotten : And
Alcibiades his tender Passion to
an ungrateful Country, will last
as long as Sense remains in the
World. Such Examples may
afford Your Lordship's leisure
Hours a Divertisement, but can-
not pretend to Direct. The Hi-
story of your own Family is a
Treasure of Greatness and Bra-
very, which affords Instances
(of both Sexes) for every Vir-
tue and Duty of Life. And here
we cannot enough Admire the
inimitable Gallantry of *Katha-
rine*

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rine Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, whoſe Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion at leaſt came up to the Example of the moſt Primitive Confeſſors; who ſupported all the Variety of Her numerous Afflictions with the Meekneſs of Her own Sex, and the Courage of Ours: While every Country prov'd more Hophitable to that Admirable Lady than Her own; and Foreign Nations thought themſelves oblig'd to Reverence that Virtue which we could not bear. Nor need I inſtance in thoſe Heroes of your Family, to whoſe Noble Atchievements the Great *Henry* of *France* was ſo highly obliged, and the *Dutch* owe ſo great a part of their Liberty. Nor perhaps was the very attempt of Civilizing *Ireland*

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land an undertaking of less Gallantry and Spirit, since 'tis easier to Create than Restore. When at length the unhappiness of an Headstrong Nation recall'd them from Forreign to Domestick Wars, with how much Courage, how much Loyalty did the Heroick *Lindsey* espouse his Royal Masters Interest! He despised both the Allurements and Forces of a Faction, then almost Irresistable, and receiv'd the Assaults of the Rebellious Army, as unmov'd as an *Isthmus* does the shock of contesting Waves. He oppos'd his Person to the most eminent Dangers in the Defence of oppress'd Majesty; and dyed like one that had a true value for Life, and knew how advantageously a few minutes

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unes of Life were chang'd for
an Immortality of Fame.

To be Nobly Born is (My
Lord) questionless one of the
greatest worldly happineſſes kind
Heaven beſtows; and Nature for
ſeveral Ages ſeems to prepare
and refine the Blood of a Fami-
ly, that She may at laſt work
out and introduce one Perfectly
Great Man. That this is Your
Lordſhips Caſe, we have reaſon
to believe, in whom all the Vir-
tues that are thriftily divided a-
mongſt others, are United. Well
then may *Cornelius Nepos* be
Proud of Your Lordſhip's Name
to Lead up his Heroes, and pro-
tect thoſe that were, while they
liv'd, the Patriots of their Country.

Each Virtue takes its propor-
tion from the Exigences of time
and

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and Place. He that stands upon the secure Shore, and undauntedly views the ungovern'd rage of the Ocean, does not, on this account, deserve the Praise of a Valiant Man; but He is the Master of true Courage, that all the time sedately stems the Ship; endeavors to be safe, yet fears not to meet Death in its most dreadful shape. Amongst the polluted spawn of Pamphlets which have crawl'd about during this Ferment of the Government, there have been a few who have compared it to a Ship toss'd by dangerous Waves. Let the design of these Parable-Makers be what it will, (as in most of them it has been bad enough) yet the similitude is to the purpose; and Your Lordship
has

D E D I C A T I O N.

has had no small share in preserving this leaky Vessel from destruction. 'Tis an observation too well known among Politicians, *That the Virtue of a Prince may sometimes turn to his Destruction*; of which we have had a sad Example in the Blessed Martyr Charles the First, *Who Suffer'd, and Dyed for being Good; and the same Jews that acted that sad Tragedy, designed a second upon the Son of his Loyns, and Inheritor of His Virtues*; As if they were resolv'd by repeated Experiences, to revoke that Axiom of the Moralists, *That the Natural effect of Benevolence and Goodness, even in this World, is a reciprocal Love and Felicity*; and so it is in all except the Fanatick, whom both the Father and Grand-

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Grandfather of our Gracious Prince, assures Us, *that no Benefit can oblige.* And really the Fanatick is no more to be comprehended within the general Rules of Reason, than the Brute; because as this acts according to the instinct of its Nature, which often carries it contrary to the principles of a Rational Creature, so the Fanatick is moved by the giddy impulse of *Enthusiasm*, which has abundance of more points then the Compass. This is that Monster who ever since His Majesties Happy, Happy Restoration, has endeavour'd to lay an open and easie way to the Destruction of the Government, by endeavouring by their unreasonable Calumnies to make the chief Ministers of It Contemptible to the
b People

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People. They have been indeed, like cunning Artists, a long while heating and preparing the matter; and in Seventy-eight, when they found the Bent and Byass of the People work'd into a Temper, then it was, that *Corah* shew'd Himself and pronounc'd, *That the Prince and the Priest had conspir'd together against our Liberty.* This carry'd on under specious pretences, put the People into a fit of down-right Madness, and when the Zealous Alarum was made on that side of the imaginary point of the Compass whence Popery was to come, the Fanatick had just planted his Colours on the contrary part of our City. 'Tis enough to confound a Man, and make Him (if possible) to forswear being in the same Class of

Natu

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Nature with these sort of Animals, to consider the unaccountable Whims in their Proceedings. All that dyed for Dr. *Titus* his Plot with their last breath asserting their Innocence, were not believ'd, because, *Popery allow'd Dispensations for Lying, and could easily elude, not only the Dictates of Christianity, but of Nature too*; And now it comes to the Fanaticks turn to Hang, one would think on such an occasion they should not only sing *Hopkins* very heartily, but speak true too, and yet all these unfortunate Gentlemen that dy'd, having, in part at least, acknowledg'd the matter of Fact for which they were Condemn'd, tho they seem to deny the Guilt of it, the Brethren matter it not; and yet could these believe, that

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a Mad-man with a Fire-ball up-
on a pole, set *London* into flames.

My Lord, we had felt the dismal effects of this mixture of Villany and Madness, had not the most Wise conduct of His *M A J E S T Y* (assisted by such Loyal and Courageous Hands as Your Lordships) deliver'd Us from the Dreadful Precipice, which we saw and trembled at. The Fable of the Viper, which the kind Country-man haying warm'd into Life, stung its Benefactor, was by Antiquity thought to express Ingratitude in its highest Extent. The Faction outgoe this; They hiss at and wound a Prince, who is not only so far their Redeemer, as that He restor'd them to Life *when they were Dead in Law and Justice*, but shew'd Himself
of

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of that forbearance and clemency, that He seem'd to deliberate whether he had best revenge their Insolence, or fall Himself. Such extraordinary Goodness deserv'd the Expence of all the Miraeles Heaven could lay out for its Deliverance !

We who are happy in living near Your Lordship, felt the warm Influence ; The same Plague of Republican Principle, which had infected the Capital City of this Fortunate Island had gain'd too great a Party among the Citizens of this place. The very Men that eat Our Bread were keenly prepar'd to have invaded those Sacred Seats which support them, and have continually rescued both them and their Predecessors from Beggary. Affronts are not to be measur'd

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by the real Loss we undergo, but that uneasiness of spirit they bring upon the Men that suffer them; To be slighted by a Superior is a thing we may calmly (tho with some grief) submit to; to be neglected, contemn'd, and trod upon by an Inferior, who depends upon Us for his very Breath, is so insufferable Usage that nothing but the Meekness of a Primitive Confessor could forgive it. And how have the Gownsmen deserv'd this? *Because we are Popishly affected, by Religiously observing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; because we were Pensioners of France, and undermin'd the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, by asserting one of the most Sacred Essentials of the Government, the LINEAL SUCCESSION, which could neither by*
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the Dispensation of a Pope or the Power of Parliament be alter'd. Your Lordship (tho Personally Affronted by this ingrateful illiterate Society) durst stemm this Torrent, which threatned an easie Ruin to all its Opposers: and possibly, that the very Brutes that graze and fatten upon the Hill of *Parnassus*, have not made Food of Us its Inhabitants, is in no small measure due to Your Lordships care. Which the Ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in this Translation (who did me the Honor to Commission me, tho of all Men the most unfit to recommend it to Your Lordships Patronage) do gratefully acknowledge; and it was not the vanity of having a Name prefix'd to two or three leaves *done into English*, that prompted

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prompted them to joyn in this small concern, but the desire they had to make a publick Resentment of those many Favours Your Lordship has been pleased to bestow upon this Our Sacred learned *Athen*s.

And now having Executed my Commission to the utmost of my small Abilities, I must not in good manners trouble Your Lordship any further then to beg leave to assure You, That I am with all imaginable Respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Obliged (Humble Servant

LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH.

C. W. P. O. 2.

THE LIFE

OF

CORN. NEPOS.

THere is no part of Human Learning so universally Advantageous to Mankind, as History. It rescues our Ancestors from Oblivion; It can Instruct and Delight the Present and Future Ages. We are oblig'd by all the Laws of Natural Religion, to preserve our Relations as long as possibly we can: Even then when their Lives are scarce worth the keeping, when Old Age has render'd them useless both in publick and private Capacities, by the nauseous Methods of Physick, we endeavour to keep them among us. And certainly our Piety should not end at the Grave; but employ it self in securing all that remains of them. Urns and Pyramids can only preserve their Ashes; which are, even to the most curious Observer, undistinguishable from those of other Men.

Pictures

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Pictures and Medals represent only their outward Lineaments; which are often not unlike in Fools and Wise-men. But History gives an Account of their Nobler Parts; their Wit, their Learning, and their Virtue: And the Reader hath, what will be no inconsiderable part of our Happiness in the other World, the Conversation of all the Great and Good Men of past Ages. And their Examples will prove to him far greater Incentives to Virtue than all the grave and serious Precepts of Philosophers. They assume to themselves the Boldness and Majesty of a Legislator, lay down rigid and severe Rules of Life, treat us with jejune and abstracted Notions, which few persons can understand, much less deduce to practice: But the force of Example is intelligible to the meanest Capacities. We Read, and Admire; and, having naturally an Itch after Glory, pursue the same methods our Forefathers so successfully proceeded in.

But tho' History in General be so pleasant and instructive, yet certainly Biography is more Eminently so. The General Historian is wholly taken up in giving

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giving the Relations of Great and Glorious Exploits ; of the Rise and Fall of Empires and Great men. You have *Alexander* at the *Granic*, and *Cesar* in the Fields of *Pharsalia* : But an account of their daily Conversation, of the menage of their Estate, their Behaviour to their Friends and their Family, their Government of their own Passions, is below the Dignity of the Subject ; and if the Author should oblige us by an useful Digression (it may be, of more real Advantage than the whole Series of the History) it would be call'd by the men of Art, an impertinent Excrecence ; and the whole Work be esteem'd monstrous, that in one part so swells beyond the lawful proportion. As the poor Poet is Damn'd in *Horace*, that because he had got a delicate Description of the *Rhine*, was resolv'd to insert it into his Poem, tho wholly impertinent to his Design.

Yet certainly the History of these Actions, tho of a meaner nature, is infinitely more useful. The other, 'tis true, are more Heroical and Illustrious, extremely fit objects for our Admiration,
but

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but usually unimitable. They do indeed raise our Attention ; but then they debauch our Reason : For, as the Stomachs of those who have indulg'd themselves in the use of Spirituous Liquors, can afterwards admit of no wholesom Diet : So, after these miraculous Accounts of Knights and Giants, all sober and sound Sense proves Nauseous to us.

In the General History, we see the Hero at the Head of an Army, or in a Triumph ; but by what Steps and Degrees he rais'd himself to this Greatness, we are unacquainted with ; which would yet more improve and delight the Reader. The Acquisition of Glory, is like that of money: The greatest Art consists in getting a Stock at first; which afterwards, if manag'd with an ordinary Prudence, encreases prodigiously.

Biography is indeed of a limited and confin'd Nature ; since it respects only the Actions of particular persons, and is not oblig'd to give the whole process of an Expedition. And therefore, since the *Mithridatic* War was manag'd by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, successively.

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an accurate Description of it is not to be expected from the Biographer. But then the General Historian is as imperfect in the Lives of particular persons; takes them only as they fall in his way, and cannot insist long upon them, without transgressing the Laws of a Methodical History. But the Biographer attends his Hero from the Cradle to the Throne: Shews him at first, it may be, mean and contemptible, despis'd and depress'd, till at last by Vertue and Industry he breaks thro all Impediments, and in despite of Envy and Detraction, mounts himself above his peevish Enemies. He accompanies him in his Retirements, gives his Carriage to his Friend and Relations, acquaints you with his Diversions, lays aside the State and Grandeur, the Pomp and Parade, draws the Scene, and shews you the Man himself, divested of his Gaudy or Formal Dress. And then, whereas the General Historian, like a false Courtier, takes notice of him only in his Greatness; and when he becomes unfit for Service in the Camp or the Senate (as some ill Masters do their worn-out servants)

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vants) deserts him : Biography still waits upon him , tho discarded the Court ; and tells you with what Courage and good Grace he bears the Affronts of his ungrateful Country-men, his Sicknss, and Death it self. Which certainly (unless you read History as Ladies do Romances) you would as willingly be inform'd of, as his Gallantry in the hottest Engagements. 'Twere easie to enlarge upon this Subject, were I to write a Panegyric of Biography, and not the Life of a particular Historian.

Among Authors of this Nature, there is scarce any so considerable as C. Nepos ; who has had the Good Fortune to please the most Judicious Critics of all Ages ; but in this is strangely unhappy, That having been so industrious in Immortalizing other men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Historians, he himself has been almost forgotten, and we have very little left us concerning him. Nay, and to add to the misfortune, even this very Treatise, of the Lives of Excellent Generals, which is the only one left us of his numerous

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merous Writings, hath by some very ill Judges been attributed to an obscure person, one *Æmilius Probus*, who liv'd in the Barbarous Age of *Theodosius*. But of this below.

He was born in *Hostilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*; whereof *Pliny*, *Antonine* in his Itinerary, &c. make mention; and is at this day subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of *Verona*. *Verona* lies near the *Po*; upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Podi Accola*: It is situated likewise in that part of *Italy* which the *Romans* (for to us 'tis otherwise) call'd *Italia Transpadana*, that part of *Italy* which is on the other side the *Po*; So that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his Excellent Poems to *C. Nepos*, might very justly call him an *Italian*. But because the same Country was call'd *Gallia Togata* (or that part of *Gall* wherein Gowns, the *Roman* Habit, were worn, in opposition to *Gallia Braccata*, so nam'd from the Garments of the Barbarous Inhabitants) *Ansonius*, alluding to *Catullus*'s foremention'd Epigram, tells his *Pacatus*, That he had found a more Learn'd and Obliging Patron

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Patron than *Gall* furnish'd *Catullus* with. But these two Poets may be easily reconcil'd, considering that the same place was, with different respects, reckon'd part both of *Gall* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veronese*, was the constant opinion of that City, where in the Senate-House his Statue was erected among those of the Illustrious Men born there. *Elios Vinetus* would indeed perswade us, that there is nothing of certainty when *Nepos* was born; but besides the constant Tradition of the City of *Verona*, and that his Statue was plac'd among those of the *Veronian* Writers, (which certainly would satisfy any man of a tolerable ingenuity) we have the Authority of *Leander*, *Albertus*, *Paulus Merula*, and of the Learn'd and Illustrious *Alexander Becellus*, Chancellor of *Verona*.

The Territories of *Verona* enjoy a delicate thin Air; the Soil as healthful, as well water'd, and supply'd with Fruits of all kinds, as most places in the World; as if it were design'd by Nature for the Country of Great and Witty Men. 'Tis not impossible for a great Genius to proceed

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ceed from an unhealthy and boggy Soil where the Air as well as Water stagnates, and is corrupted : But 'tis very improbable there should. *Plutarch* and *Pindar* were born in *Bæotia*, but not one eminent Writer more, as we hear of. *Erasmus* came from *Rotterdam* ; and yet the greatest Judg of the last Age was pleas'd to say of *Gretser*, 'Tis a Witty Man for a German. And if we consider the dependance which our Souls have upon our Bodies, as to their operations, we need not wonder, that thick and foggy Airs should so seldom be bless'd with extraordinary Men. 'Tis certainly a mighty Advantage to be Born in a place eminent for Wit and Learning ; where great Examples daily appear before us, and raise in us a generous Emulation to equal or surpass them. Upon this account it is, that Cities have become famous for some particular Excellence ; and Wit, as some Herbs, if once rooted in a ground, cannot without difficulty be got out. *Verona* has indeed produc'd as great Wits, and as Learn'd Men in all Faculties, as any City perhaps in the World. Here were born

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the two *Plinies*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect, and (in a later Age) that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracastorius*, The best Physician, Mathematician, and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was Born in a Place famous for polite Learning, so likewise in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Stile were advanced to their utmost perfection; in that Age which the Critics call, *The Golden Age of Eloquence*. There is no question but *Junius* the Rebel, *M. Valerius* the Dictator, *Menenius Agrippa*, so famous for Reconciling the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, did make Orations to the People; tho not so fine ones as Historians ascribe to them. They were certainly Men of incomparable Valour, and of sound sense; but they had only a good unpolish'd rough Eloquence, and with that attain'd their ends upon a People rude and illiterate; and wanted only a *Grecian* Education to render 'em the greatest Wits in their Age. But as the *Roman* Empire began to extend it self into *Greece*, and People admir'd the Oratory of that Nation, the *Roman* Language

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Language was daily refin'd. It at first became neat and clean, the Words and Phrases proper and easie, not florid, much less ranting and fustian. This is that which is so admirable in the ancient Comedies, of which *Plautus* and *Terence* are the only now left us; which as *Scaliger* well observes, our misfortunes have endear'd to us; we admire them the more, because we have none else left us to admire. In the Eloquence of that Age, there was nothing affected, nothing of Paint and Daubing, but pure Natural Beauty, undebauch'd, and preferable upon account of its Native simplicity to all the swelling Rhetoric of some after Ages. But at last the *Roman* style was Illustrated with Tropes and Figures; which, if Modestly made use of, are the real Ornaments of a style; but if us'd with Imprudence, become nauseous, and more like the Sayings of a Mad man than an Orator. In this Golden Age, the *Romans* had rais'd themselves to the utmost pitch, they had gone as far as Prudence would permit them; which when their immediate Successors endeavour'd to surpass, they

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swell'd into Bombast, and their Wit was more like an Hydropic Tumor, than a Natural Plumpness. The *Spaniards* brought this disease of style into *Italy*; and *Cicero* in his Oration for *Archios* the Poet, exposes the Barbarous and Greasie Wit of that Nation. And yet there are some men who compare and prefer *Martial* to *Catullus*, between whom there is as wide a difference, as betwixt the sordid Drollery of a Buffoon, and the Ingenious Raillery of a Gentleman. They have had a greater esteem for the Heat of *Lucan*, than the just Greatness of *Virgil*. But the best Judges rather pity these mistaken Gentlemen that dispute with them.

Now to be considerable in such an Age as this, to be infinitely esteem'd and Caress'd by the greatest persons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. When *Cicero*, *Catullus*, *Atticus*, &c. appear as Witnesses, it must needs be a vile *Ignoramus* Jury that will not find the Bill. *Catullus*, the most accurate and delicate Epigrammatist that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Cicero* was his most intimate
and

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and bosom Friend ; there was a constant Intercourse of Letters betwixt them. *Sueton* in his Life of *Julius Cesar* takes notice of a letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*; and *Lactantius* quotes an Epistle of *Nepos* to *Tully*. Nay, their Epistolary Commerce was so great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the second Book of Epistles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His intimacy with *Atticus* is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, here annex'd to his Lives of Excellent Generals ; for *Atticus* himself was so far from being one, that he never engag'd in the War either for *Cesar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very few of that Humour ever met with) to be Honour'd, esteem'd and unmolested thro the whole course of his Life.

He left many Learned and Curious Works behind him, which the injury of time hath depriv'd us of ; and we have only just enough left us to see the greatness of our loss in the rest. He was Author of a Book, which he call'd his Chronicle, wherein (in three distinct Volumes) he gave an account of those three great Intervals of time, which

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Historians so much talk of, The obscure and uncertain, The Fabulous, And the Historical Ages of the World. As to the first and second, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn* but what was a Man; and *Ansonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he sent him *Titianus's* Fables, and *Nepos's* Chronicles, which were not much unlike 'em; and *Catullus* in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *Omne Evum tribus explicare chartis*.

Besides this great Work, he writ the Lives of Illustrious Men, of which twenty-two, which respect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are transmitted to us; and likewise the Lives of the *Roman* Hero's (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But what thro' the Invasion of Forreign Nations, and the Ignorance and carelessness of Superstitious Monks, who let them ly and rot unobserv'd in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors, which had the good fortune to survive. *Æmilius Probus* hath by some Critics bin suppos'd to be the Author of the Lives of Forreign Generals; But 'tis a palpable

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palpable mistake occasion'd by an Epigram prefix'd to some antient Manuscripts of this Author, wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emper or *Theodosius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus*. But then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manusest Geneticis Avique Meique, viz.* that his own hand, his Mothers, and Grandfathers, were concern'd in the work. Whence 'tis clear beyond contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Transcriber. Besides, can *Robertellus* who writ a Treatise of the Art of Criticism, or any Man of common Learning and Sense, perswade himself, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this most delicate and Judicious peice of History? But from the cleanness and terseness of Expression may undeniably be evinc'd, that the Author of this Book liv'd in the Age of *Julius* and *Augustus*; and besides all this there are forty places in the Lives themselves that prove *Nepos* was their Author and liv'd in the Age aforesaid, for which if you please consult *Lambin*.

But *Nepos* hath not bin more abus'd by ascribing his Works to other Men,
93
than

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than in making him the Author of some pieces wholly unworthy of him. Thus the Book of Illustrious Men, which usually was said to be *Pliny's*, but is really *Aurelius Victor's*, some Critics Father upon our Author, and the Translation of *Dares* the *Phrygian* is said to be his: But the very style it self is sufficient to convince any Judicious Reader. *Nepos*, in the Judgement of some Men liv'd after the Nativity of our Lord; but if you consider how Celebrated he was for his Learning in the days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, you will find no great reason to subscribe to their opinion.

THE

THE CHRONOLOGY TO CORN. NEPOS.

		Olympiad.	Year of Olympiad.	Before Christ.
<i>Miltiades</i>	Overcomes the Persians at Marathon	72	3	490
<i>Themistocles</i>	Dies in Prison	72	4	489
	Overcomes the Persians at Salamis	73	1	480
	Banish'd	77	2	471
	Dies	79	2	463
<i>Aristides</i>	Banish'd by Ostracism	74	2	483
	With Pausanias overthrows and kills Mardonius	75	2	479
<i>Pausanias</i>	Conspires against Greece	75	4	477
	Is starv'd	75	4	477
<i>Cimon</i>	Overcomes the Persians in a Naval Fight	77	3	430
	Is banish'd by Ostracism	82	3	450
	Overcomes the Persians by Sea and Land	82	3	450
	Dies	82	4	449
<i>Lyfander</i>	Befieges Athens	93	4	405
	Takes it	94	1	404
<i>Alcybiades</i>	Is Banish'd	92	1	412
	Recall'd	92	2	413
	Dies	94	1	404
<i>Thrasybulus.</i>	Commander of the Athenians	92	2	411
	Overcomes the thirty Tyrants	94	4	410
	Dies	99	4	308
<i>Conon</i>	Overcomes the Lacedemonians at Cnidus	96	3	394
	Fortifies the Piræum	96	4	393
<i>Dion</i>	His flight and Preparation for War against Dionysius	101	3	358
	He dies	106	2	355

<i>Iphicrates</i>	General of the <i>Athenians</i> Obtains the Victory at <i>Corinth</i> and lays down his Command	96	4	393
<i>Chabrias</i>	General of the <i>Athenians</i> Overcomes the <i>Lacedemonians</i> Is kill'd by Fraud	99	2	383
		100	4	377
<i>Timotheus</i>	General of the <i>Athenians</i>	101	4	376
<i>Datames</i>	Liv'd about	101	1	376
<i>Epaminondes</i>	Made Commander of the <i>The-</i> <i>bands</i> Overcomes the <i>Lacedemonians</i> at <i>Leuctra</i>	94	4	400
		101	2	375
	Beseiges <i>Sparta</i>	102	2	371
	Dies in the Battel at <i>Mantineæ</i>	102	4	369
<i>Pelopidas</i>	Taken Captive	104	2	363
	Recover'd	103	1	368
<i>Agefilæus</i>	Makes War in <i>Asia</i> Against the <i>Persians</i> in <i>Egypt</i> , where he dies, his age eighty four, his Reign forty-one	103	2	367
		96	2	395
<i>Eumenes</i>	Is made Tutor to <i>Alexanders</i> Children	100	1	380
	His war against <i>Antigonus</i>	115	2	319
	Is taken and slain	115	4	317
		116	2	315
<i>Phocion</i>	Puts to flight <i>Clitarchus</i> the Tyrant	109	4	340
<i>Timoleon</i>	Delivers from slavery <i>Corinth</i> and <i>Syracuse</i>	159	2	143
	Overcomes the <i>Corinthians</i>	159	4	140
	Dies	106	2	137
<i>Hamilcar</i>	Governor of <i>Sicily</i> for the <i>Car-</i> <i>thagians</i>	132	4	259
<i>Hannibal</i>	Passes the <i>Alps</i>	104	4	218
	Gains the Victory at <i>Canna</i>	141	2	216
	Is overthrown by <i>Scipio</i>	144	3	202
	Flies to <i>Antiochus</i>	146	2	159
	Dies, his Age sixty-three	149	3	182
<i>M. P. Cato</i>	Consul	146	2	159
	Censor	149	1	184
	Dies	157	4	149
<i>T. P. Atticus</i>	Liv'd	178	4	63
<i>G. Nepos</i>	Liv'd	178	4	

A Catalogue of the Lives,
with the Names of the
several Gentlemen by
whom they are done into
English.

<i>Miltiades.</i>	Mr. Tullie.
<i>Themistocles.</i>	Mr. Gardiner.
<i>Aristides.</i>	Mr. Mitchell.
<i>Pausanias.</i>	Mr. Hoy.
<i>Cimon.</i>	Mr. Creed.
<i>Lysander.</i>	Mr. Kircherwall.
<i>Alcibiades.</i>	Mr. Peers.
<i>Thrasylbulus.</i>	Mr. H. Gilman.
<i>Conon.</i>	Mr. Jenefer.
<i>Dion.</i>	Mr. Clark.
<i>Iphicrates.</i>	Mr. Allam.
<i>Chabrias.</i>	Mr. Kennett.
<i>Timotheus.</i>	The Honourable Mr. Booth.
<i>Datames.</i>	Mr. Edwards.
<i>Epaminondas.</i>	Mr. Lane.
<i>Pelopidas.</i>	Mr. Creech.
<i>Agessilaus.</i>	Mr. Scott.
<i>Eumenes.</i>	Mr. Ch. Allestree.
<i>Phocion.</i>	Mr. Todd.
<i>Timoleon.</i>	Mr. Cary.
<i>Hamilcar.</i>	Mr. Brideok.
<i>Hannibal.</i>	The Honourable Mr. Finch.
<i>Cato.</i>	Mr. Robinson.
<i>P. Atticus.</i>	Mr. Morgan.

T H E

THE
P R E F A C E
OF
C O R N. N E P O S.

I Do not doubt (my Atticus) but a great many will censure this way of Writing, not only as frivolous, but unworthy the Persons of Excellent Men, when they shall read these little Memoirs related of them ; As who was the Master that taught Epaminondas Musick ; and that it was reckon'd amongst his chief Accomplishments, that he had an handsome way of Dancing, and sung skilfully to the Flute. But this is the opinion only of those who being ignorant of the Grecian Learning, think nothing right but what strictly quadrates with their own Manners ; but if these would but once Learn, that things Decent and Uncomely do not appear with the same Aspect of Honesty and Turpitude to all Persons, but that

P R E F A C E.

that every thing ought to be measur'd by the Institutions of our Ancestors; it will suppress their admiration, that in Celebrating the Vertues of the Grecians we have followed their Customs; for it was not objected as a Scandal to Cimon, who was one of the Greatest Personages amongst the Athenians, that he Married his half Sister which his Father had by a former Lady; since it was a familiar usage, that obtain'd amongst the rest of the Citizens, tho it breaks in upon our ways of Living, and is counted Irreligion. It was a thing highly applauded in Greece, that young Lads were Catamites, and had many Rivals in that unnatural pleasure; and at Lacedæmon there was not a Widow, tho of the Noblest Extraction, but would act her part in a Comedy, and take Money for it; In the same Greece, likewise it was matter of singular Triumph, to be proclaim'd a Conqueror in the Olympick Games; and yet to come forth upon the Stage, and be a spectacle of diversion to the People, was not look'd upon by that Nation as any ways opprobrious; all which things

P R E F A C E

things notwithstanding kindle our Aversion, as being partly downright Infamous, and partly below the Dignity of our Characters, and very far from being seemly or becoming; on the contrary, a great many actions carry with us the impression of Decorum, which are thought very lewd by them; As for instance, what Roman blusheth to lead his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mother of a Family will not reside in the most frequented part of her house, and contribute her share of Conversation at a Publick Feast? And yet 'tis much otherwise practis'd in Greece, for there they never come to any jolly Assignment, unless invited by their near Relations; and are never seen but in the most inward Apartments, which they call from thence (Gynæconitis) the Chamber of the Women; and no one's approaches were permitted thither but of those who gain'd access by the priviledg, either of Blood or Affinity. But the bulk of the Volume will not let me run through any more Examples of this kind; and Expedition calls upon me to give the last hand

P R E F A C E.

*hand to those things which I have begun;
therefore we will come close to the purpose,
and in this Book draw to your view the
Lives of these Illustrious Comman-
ders.*

T H E

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THE
LIFE
OF
MILTIADES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Tullie, of
Queen's Coll. Oxon.

WHEN *Miltiades*, the Son of
Cimon, an *Athenian*, was
grown the most celebrated
man of his Countrey, as
well for his own native modesty, as by
reason of the ancient and renown'd Fa-
mily whence he was descended; and
was now arriv'd at those years which
were sufficient to confirm his Fellow-
Citizens in the high opinion they always
A had

had of him: It happen'd, that the *Athenians* were upon a new project of conquering and transplanting Colonies to the *Chersonese* [a]. And since the design was generally applauded, several being come in Volunteers, to offer their service in the Expedition, it was thought fit to depute some of them to go to *Delphos*, and there consult the Oracle of *Apollo* about the choice of a General. For at that time the *Thracians* were Masters of those Countries, who were not to be dispossest'd but by force of Arms. When they were arriv'd at *Delphos*, and had address'd themselves to the Oracle, the Answer it return'd was positive and express in the choice of *Miltiades*; whom if they would elect, *they should succeed in their Undertaking*. *Miltiades* confirm'd in his Command by so great an Authority, sets Sail for the *Chersonese*, with a select Band of Men; and touching upon *Lemnos* in his Road, would willingly have reduc'd the Inhabitants of that Island under the Dominion of the *Athenians*, requiring them immediately to surrender themselves. But they laugh'd at the demand, and reply'd, *That yes, they would, when he should sail from Home to Lemnos with a Northerly Wind*; which is contrary to them who come from *Athens* to these Coasts. But *Miltiades's*
Affair

Affair would not admit of delay, and therefore without any farther attempt, he steer'd his course directly for the *Chersonese*, where he safely arriv'd. And having in a short time defeated the Forces of those *Barbarians*, and made himself Master of the *Chersonese*, he fortified the most convenient places of it with Castles and Citadels, and planted all the Country with his own Soldiers, whom he enrich'd with the Spoils of frequent Excursions. Nor had Fortune a greater share in the success of this Expedition, than his own Prudence. For having routed the Enemy's Forces by the Valour of his own, he manag'd the whole Concern of the Victory with the greatest Equity imaginable; and made the *Chersonese* the place of his Residence. *For he acted as King amongst them, tho he had not the Title*; and yet ow'd not his Power so much to the Absoluteness of his Command, as to the Justice of his actions: For notwithstanding the greatness of his Fortune, he was ready to do any acts of kindness for his Country-men, the *Athenians*: By which means he establish'd his Authority not only in the Hearts and Affections of the *Athenians*, who gave it him, but of those too over whom he was to exercise it. And having thus settled the Government of his late Conquest, he comes back to *Lemnos*,

and (by virtue of his former Compact with the Inhabitants) demands the Surrendry of their City into his hands: *For they had promis'd to yield themselves up to him when he should sail from Home to Lemnos by a North Wind; which was now performed from his Habitation in the Chersonese.* The Carians, who then inhabited the Island, tho they little expected such a demand of the performance of a jocular promise, yet were forc'd to comply and quit the Island; not so much out of the sense of any obligation they conceiv'd themselves to lie under, as of the power and great success of the Enemy whom they were to encounter. Nor was he less happy in reducing those other Islands, called *Cyclades*, under the *Athenian* Dominion. In those days *Darius*, the *Persian* King, resolving upon a War with the *Scythians*, built a Bridge upon the *Danube*, for the passing over of his Army, and gave the chief Command of it, and of their respective Cities, to the Forces he had rais'd in *Ionia* and *Aolis*. *For he went upon this ground, That it would be the best Expedient to keep the Greeks who inhabited Asia, in subjection during the War, to entrust their Friends and Country-men with the Command of his Towns, who could expect no Quarter if he chanc'd to be defeated.* Amongst the rest of these Governors was
Miltiades,

Miltiades, who, when he had continual news brought him of the ill success of the *Persian* Arms against the *Scythians*, exhorted the Commanders of the Bridge, Not to baulk so fair an opportunity of freeing Greece from the *Persian* Yoke; alledging, That if *Darius* and his Forces were but defeated now, not only all Europe would be free from the apprehensions of his Arms for the future, but that the poor Greeks likewise who inhabited Asia, would be rescued from the slavery they underwent, and the dangers they were expos'd to from their *Persian* Masters; and that if the Bridge were but demolished, the Design must of necessity take effect, and the *Persians* perish either by the Sword or Famine in a few days. When several of the Company had joyn'd with, and seconded *Miltiades*, *Hestæus Milesius* crav'd leave to dissent from them, objecting, That tho it might be expedient for the generality of the People to be freed from their subjection to *Darius*, yet it could by no means be so to them, who bore Command under Him: That their Power and Interest was imbarck'd in the same bottom with *Darius's* Empire; which if once overthrown, their Employ must expire with it, and they suffer by the hands of their own Fellow-Citizens. And therefore, that he was so far from concurring with them, that for his part he thought it highly their Interest, that the *Per-*

sian Empire should be upheld and established. When *Miltiades* understood by the sense of the Company, that the point would be carried against him, and easily imagining, that of so many who were privy to the Consult, some would certainly come in and inform the King of the Plot, He thought it his safest way to leave the *Chersonese*, and return to *Athens*. And tho' indeed the majority of the Cabal thought not fit then to concur with him in the Design, yet was it a generous proposal in him, in that he rather consulted the Liberty of his Country, than his own private Interest.

Darius, after his return from *Europe* into *Asia*, being advis'd by his Council to try if he could reduce *Greece* under his Dominions, fitted out a Fleet of five hundred Sail of Ships in order to that design; whereof he made *Datis* and *Artaphernes* Admirals, and gave them the Command of 200000. Foot, and 10000. Horse; alledging the affront that the *Athenians* had put upon him in assisting the *Ionians* in the taking of *Sardis*, and putting the Garison to the Sword, as the ground and occasion of the War against them. The *Persians* landing at *Eubœa*, immediately made themselves Masters of *Eretria*, and sent the Inhabitants of the Country into *Asia* to *Darius*. From thence they march-
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ed as far as *Attica*, into the Fields of *Marathon*, which is but about ten miles from the Town. The *Athenians*, tho in a great consternation at the near approaches of so powerful an Enemy, yer solicited none but the *Lacedemonians* for their assistance; to whom they dispatch'd *Philippus* (one of those Couriers whom they call'd [*b*] *Hemerodromi*) to acquaint them what urgent occasions they had for their speedy Relief. In the mean time they chose ten Great Officers to command the Army, whereof *Miltiades* was one; amongst whom it was hotly debated, *Whether it were more advisable for them to rely upon the strength of the Town, or to march out and fight the Enemy.* *Miltiades* press'd them with greater earnestness than any of the rest, to pitch their Tents as soon as possibly they could; for that by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themselves more bravely, when they saw how highly their Valour was rely'd upon, and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded, when they should observe with what a small handful of Men they resolv'd to fight them. There were none who actually assisted the *Athenians* in this juncture but the *Platæans*, who furnish'd them with a supply of a thousand Men, which made them compleatly ten thousand strong; a small number, but fir'd with a wonderful desire to be in action.

Miltiades by this Counsel, became more considerable than his Collegues; for 'twas principally upon the great Authority of his advice, that the *Athenians* marched their Forces out of the Town, where they encamped conveniently, and the next day after, at the foot of an Hill, joyned Battel with all the Courage imaginable, and the advantage of a new stratagem, on their side: For they had block'd up the passages with Trees in several places, to the intent they might both be sheltered by the tops of the Mountains, and that the Trees in the way might hinder the Enemies Horse from breaking in upon them. *Datis*, tho he saw the *Athenians* had manifestly the advantage of the place, yet relying upon the vast odds he had in the number, and considering also, the *Spartan* Auxiliaries were not yet arrived, resolved to engage them; and accordingly led up an hundred thousand of his Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, with which he gave them Battel; wherein the *Athenians* so far out-did their Enemies, that they defeated ten times the number of their own Forces; and so terrified and discouraged the *Persians*, that they never offered to make towards their Camp again, but fled to their Vessels. Than which Fight never certainly was any thing more illustriously Great and Glorious: For never

ver did so small an handful of Men conquer so numerous and powerful an Army. And here it may not be improper to remark what *Miltiades* had for the Reward of so great an action; whereby we may perceive, *how the same Humor and Genius runs through all Bodies Politic.* For as the Marks of Honour which the *Romans* formerly fixed upon the bravest Men, were very rare and inconsiderable, and for that Reason more signally Honourable; tho now indeed they are grown common and extravagant: So we find it was anciently among the *Athenians*; for this great *Miltiades*, to whom all *Greece*, as well as *Athens*, ow'd their safety, had only this Honour done him, That when the Fight at *Marathon* was painted in the Gallery called [*c*] *Pæcile*, he was drawn the first of all the ten Commanders, exhorting his Soldiers, and giving Battel to the Enemy. And yet the same People, after they had enlarged their Territories, and became once corrupted with the Bribery of their Magistrates, decreed no less than three hundred Statues to the Honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*. After this Engagement at *Marathon*, the *Athenians* made Him Admiral of a Fleet of Seventy Sail of Ships, to make War upon those Islands which had assisted the *Barbarians*: Several whereof submitted without resistance,

stance, and some he took by assault. Amongst the rest that held out, was the Island *Parus*, a rich and arrogant People, whom when he could by no means persuade to a Surrendry, he landed his Men, Invested the City, and deprived them of all supplies; and had by the help of Sconces, gradually made his approaches so near to the Walls, that he was just upon the point of carrying the Town, when there happened, I know not how, a Grove of Trees to be fired a far off in the Continent in the night-time; which as soon as it was perceived by the Burgers and the Besiegers, they both imagined it some Signal given by the Scouts to the *Persian* Fleet; whereupon the Besieged became less inclined to a Surrendry; and *Miltiades* fearing a sudden onset from the Navy Royal, set fire to his VVorks, and returned to *Athens* only with the same number of Ships they had at first given him the Command of; which so enrag'd the *Athenians*, that they impeached him of Treason against the State, *That when he might have took Parus, he was bribed from prosecuting the Design by the King of Persia.* He was at this time laid up of the wounds which he had received in the Siege; and therefore because he was not in a capacity of answering for himself, his Brother *Tisagoras* appeared for him. The whole Evidence

vidence being given in against him, the Crime was not found Capital, but he was fin'd however fifty Talents, the Sum that was expended in Equipping the whole Fleet: And being non-solvent, was cast into Prison, where he died. But tho the Business of *Parus* was the pretext, yet was it not the real cause of his prosecution; for the *Athenians*, who still retained the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (which had raged but a few years before) fresh in their memories, were extreme apprehensive of the growing power of any Fellow-Citizen. And they imagined, that *Miltiades*, who had born so great Offices and Commands, would not afterwards be easily content to move in a narrower and private Sphere; and that since he had been us'd to Rule, the force of meer Custom would incline him to aspire after it still. For all the while he dwelt in the *Chersonese*, he had the Government wholly in his own hands, and was stiled a Tyrant, but governed according to Law; for he owed not his Power to the hands of Violence, but to the good Will of his Subjects, which he maintained by his own gentleness and moderation. Now they who had the supreme Government in any Commonwealth, during Life, which formerly enjoyed the liberty of Annual Elections, were called Tyrants. But *Miltiades* was a person of great Humanity, and so
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exceedingly affable and obliging, that the meanest of his Subjects had free and easie Access to him. A mighty deference was paid him every where. His Name grew great and venerable; and he had the character of an incomparable Soldier. And upon these motives the People thought it more secure to take him out of the way (tho he deserved it not), than to live under the continual apprehensions of danger from so great a Man.

[a] *The Thracian Chersonese, or Peninsula.* [b] *Stout young Fellows, who were dispatched abroad upon State-Affairs, and performed their Errand with great Expedition.* [c] *ποικίλη, so called from the variety of Pictures wherewith it was adorned.*

THE
LIFE
OF
THEMISTOCLES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Gardiner,
L. L. B. and Fellow of *All-
Souls Coll. Oxon.*

THEMISTOCLES, the Son of
Neocles, was an *Athenian*. The
Vices which debauch'd the be-
ginning of his Youth, were re-
formed by many Eminent Vertues which
appeared in his more mature Age; so that
he was excelled by none, and there were
but few who might be thought his Equals.
But to trace him from his Cradle: His Fa-
ther *Neocle* was a Gentleman, who married

ed a Citizen of [a] *Acarmania*, of whom *Themistocles* was born. His profuse and dissolute life when he was young, with the neglect of his Estate and VVorldly Concerns, were so displeasing to his Parents, that they disinherited him : VVhich disgrace did rather animate than depress his Spirits: For when he considered, that his Reputation thus lost, could not easily be regained, he devoted himself wholly to the service of the Commonwealth, grew very complaisant to his Friends, and made it his business to be popular. He was often made an Arbitrator to reconcile private Differences, and was very frequent at the publick Assemblies. There was no business of more than ordinary Concern, but it pass'd through his hands ; for he quickly apprehended what was most necessary to be done, and expressed the same in an easie and familiar stile. Neither was he less ready in managing of any Affair than in the contriving of it ; because (as *Thucydides* says) he had a true judgment of things present, and would give a shrew'd guess at what was to come. So that upon the account of these his extraordinary parts, he in a short time became of great Repute among the *Athenians*,

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The first Honour which was conferr'd upon him, was the Government of the Commonwealth in the *Corcyraean* VVar; for the carrying on of which he being chosen General, made the *Athenians*, not only in that, but also in all after-Expeditions, more VVarlike than they had formerly been. For whereas the publick Money which their Silver-Mines brought them in, was every year lavishly spent by the prodigality of their Magistrates, he prevailed so far with the People, as to perswade them with that Money to build a Fleet of an hundred Ships. VVhich being in a short time effected, he first subdued his Enemies the *Corcyraeans*, and then scowred the Sea of all the Pirates, with which it was much infested. By this Action he mightily enrich'd the *Athenians*, and made them most expert Sea-Soldiers. And how much this conduc'd to the safety of all *Greece*, may be easily gathered from the *Persian* VVar: For when *Xerxes* invaded all *Europe* both by Sea and Land, with such puissant Armies as no Prince, either before or since his time, has as yet had; with a Fleet of twelve hundred Men of VVar, attended with two thousand Victualing Ships; and Land-Forces, to the number of seven hundred thousand Foot, and four hundred thousand Horse. The news of whose approach being brought

brought to *Greece*, with a report, that his designs were chiefly against the *Athenians*, to revenge his defeat at *Marathon*, they immediately sent to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle, what would be best for them to do as to their present Affairs. *Pythia* advises them to fortifie themselves with a *Wooden Wall*. The meaning of which Answer, when no body understood, *Themistocles* thus expounded it, telling them, That it was the advice of *Apollo*, that they should take their Families and their Goods with them into their Ships; for those the Oracle meant by the *Wooden Wall*. VVhich Counsel they approved of, and they built as many Gallies as they had Ships before, and so carried all their Moveables, some to *Salamis*, and some to *Træzene*. Their Tower and their Images they delivered up to the care of their Priests and a few old Men, and so they left the Town.

This Counsel was very ungrateful to most of the Cities, because they had much rather have been engaged in a Land War. Therefore a select Company are sent under the Command of *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, to possess themselves of *Thermopylæ*, and to stop the farther progress of the *Barbarians*. But they were overpowered by the Forces of so great an Enemy, and were all cut off in that very place. The
first

first Engagement of the two Fleets (that of the *Grecians* consisting of three hundred Sail, whereof two belong'd to the *Athenians*) was at *Artemisium*, between *Eubæa* and the Continent. The reason why *Themistocles* made choice of those Streights was, lest so great a multitude might have surrounded him. Here, tho both Navies retreated upon equal terms, yet the *Athenians* durst not maintain their station; because they fear'd, that if part of the Enemy's Fleet should get beyond *Eubæa*, they would engage them on both sides. Upon which account they were forc'd to leave the *Artemisium*, and sail to *Salamis*, which is over against *Athens*.

But *Xerxes* having gain'd *Thermopylae*, immediately marched to *Athens*, where meeting with no opposition, he kill'd the Priests which he found in the Tower, and fir'd the City. At the news of which the Sea-men were much terrified; and when they durst not stand to their Colours, and 'twas the advice of most of them, that every one should go home to their own Houses, and defend themselves as well as they could within their Walls, *Themistocles* alone stood undaunted, telling them, That so long as they held together in one Body they might equal the Enemy; but protesting, if once dispers'd they must necessarily perish. And that that

would be their fate he affirm'd to *Eurybiades*, a King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who then was Admiral: Whom when he found not to be concern'd so much as he could have wish'd, he sent one of his Servants (in whom he could most confide) to *Xerxes* by night, to tell him, *That his Enemies were upon their flight; and that if they should now escape, he must expect a long and difficult War; for then he would be forc'd to pursue them singly; but if he would now engage them, he might in a short time destroy them all.* This stratagem so far prevail'd, that his own Soldiers were compell'd to fight, tho against their wills. Whereupon *Xerxes*, not in the least suspecting the trick which was put upon him, fell upon them the next day in so narrow a Sea, that his whole Fleet could not engage; a place very disadvantageous to himself, but on the contrary, mighty advantageous to the Enemy: So that he was conquered rather by the Policy of *Themistocles*, than by the Arms of Greece.

Altho *Xerxes* manag'd this Action extremely ill, yet after all he had so great Reserves, that even with them he might have beaten the *Athenians*; but for the present he was forc'd to retreat. For *Themistocles* fearing lest he should go on with the War, sent him word, That the
 breaking

breaking down of the Bridge which he had built over the *Hellespont*, was then in agitation, to exclude his passage into *Asia*; and made him believe it. For that Journey which cost him six months travel when he came for *Greece*, he perform'd the very same way in less than than thirty days at his return, looking upon himself not as conquer'd by *Themistocles*, but preserv'd. Thus by the Policy of one man, *Greece* was restor'd to its liberty, and *Asia* made subject to *Europe*. This other Victory was not at all inferior to that at *Marathon*: For here also at *Salamis*, after the same manner a few Ships defeated the greatest Fleet that has been in the memory of man.

Great was *Themistocles* in this War, and as great in Peace. For when the *Athenians* had only the *Phaleric*, a small and inconvenient Port, by his advice they built a triple Haven at *Pyræa*, and encompass'd it with such Walls, that it equall'd the City in glory, and excell'd it in usefulness. He also rebuilt the *Athenian* Walls at his own hazard. For the *Lacedæmonians* having got a plausible Reason, viz. the Incurfions of the Barbarians, deny'd that any City ought to be built but at *Peloponnesus*, lest there should be any Fortifications which might harbour their Enemies; and therefore they

B 2 endeavour'd

endeavour'd to put a stop to their Buildings. But their designs were quite contrary to their pretences: For those two Victories, that at *Marathon*, and the other at *Salamis*, made the *Athenians* so considerable all the VVorld over, that the *Lacedæmonians* were afraid they would have contended with them for the Sovereignty; wherefore they used all means to keep them as low as possibly they could. For after they heard that the VValls were begun, they sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to forbid their proceedings. VVhilst they were there, they desisted, and told them, that they would send Ambassadors to treat with them about that Affair. This Embassy *Themistocles* undertook, and went first himself, ordering the rest of the Ambassadors not to follow till they thought the VValls were high enough. In the mean time all the City, of what condition soever, whether Bond or Free, assisted in the work; neither did they spare any place, whether sacred or prophane, publick or private; but took from all parts what materials would most conduce to the Fortifications. So that their VValls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments.

Themistocles, when he came to *Lacedæmon*, did not immediately desire Audience of the Magistrate, but spun out the
time

time as long as he could, making this his excuse, That he expected his Collegues. But whilst the *Lacedæmonians* complain that the *V*Works nevertheless went on, and that *Themistocles* endeavour'd to deceive them, in the interim the rest of the Ambassadors arrive ; by whom when he was given to understand, that the Fortifications were almost finish'd, he address'd himself to the *Ephori*, the chief Magistrates among the *Lacedæmonians* , and told them, *That what they heard concerning their Fortifications was false ; wherefore he thought it but reasonable that they should send some persons of Trust and Quality, to whom credit might be given, to enquire into that affair ; and in the mean time they might keep him as their Pledg.* They granted his request , and accordingly three Ambassadors are sent, Men of great Honour and Repute, on whom *Themistocles* order'd his Collegues to attend forewarning them, not to suffer the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors to return till he himself was sent back. *V*When he thought they were arriv'd at *Athens*. he waited upon the Senate and Magistracy, and told them very frankly, *That by his Advice the Athenians had Wall'd in their Publick, their Tutelar and Household Gods, that they might with the more ease defend them from their Enemies (which thing was justifi-*

fiable by the Common Law of Nations); neither did they do this with a design to incommode Greece; for their City was, as 'twere, a Bulwark against the Barbarians, having twice routed the Persian Armada. He told them, That they did not act like just and honest men, who rather regarded what conduc'd most to their own Greatness, than what might be profitable to all Greece; wherefore if they thought ever to have those Ambassadors return whom they had sent to Athens, they must release him, otherwise they must never expect to receive them again into their own Country.

Yet after all this, he could not evade the envy of his Fellow-Citizens. For even the same jealousy [a] which condemn'd *Miltiades*, banish'd *Themistocles*. After which he went to *Argos*; where living in much splendor, upon the account of his great Endowments, the *Lacedæmonians* sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, with this Accusation against him, That he had made a League with the King of Persia to destroy Greece. For which Crime, tho absent, he was condemn'd of Treason. Which thing so soon as he heard of, not thinking himself safe at *Argos*, he went to *Corcyra*; where understanding that the Governors of the City were very fearful lest the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* should declare VVar against them upon his

his account, he fled to *Admetus*, the King of the *Molossians*, who had formerly entertain'd him. But at his first arrival, not finding the King, that he might be received by him with the greater fidelity, he took his little Daughter and carried her with him into the Sanctuary, a Custom which is very religiously observ'd among the *Molossians*; and from thence he would not stir, till the King had given him his Hand, and receiv'd him into his Patronage; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd. For when he was demanded by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, he would not deliver him up, but advis'd him to consult his own safety; for 'twas not likely that he should be secure in a place so nigh his Enemies. Therefore he commanded him to be carried to *Pydna*, and sent a sufficient Guard with him. VVhereupon he went a Ship-board *incognito*; but a great Storm, which then happen'd, drove the Vessel upon the Island *Naxos*, where at that time the *Athenian* Army lay. *Themistocles* thought that if they should put in there, he must necessarily perish: so that by this ill fortune he was forc'd to discover himself to the Master of the Ship, promising great Rewards if he would preserve him. The Master commiserating the Condition of so great a Man, kept his Ship at Anchor

for a day and a night, at a good distance from the Island, and would not suffer any man to go out of it. From whence he sail'd to *Ephesus*, and there he landed *Themistocles*, who afterwards sufficiently rewarded him for his great service.

I know that many Authors have reported, that *Themistocles* went into *Asia* whilst *Xerxes* was King; but I think *Thucydides* is rather to be credited, who living about that Age, wrote an History of those times, and was also of the same City; and he says, that he came to *Artaxerxes*, and wrote him a Letter after this manner: I *Themistocles* am come unto you; I, who brought so many Calamities by the Grecians upon your Family, when I was forc'd to make War with your Father to defend my own Country. But I did him greater Services afterwards, when I was safe, and he in danger; for when he would not go back into *Asia*, after the Battel at *Salamis*, I sent him word, That it was then in agitation, that the Bridge which he had made over the *Hellespont* should be broken down, and that he should be surrounded by his Enemies; by which message he escap'd the danger. But now here I my self am come, banish'd from all Greece, humbly to intreat your Alliance, which if I may but obtain, you shall find me as great a Friend to you, as I have been a dangerous Enemy to your Father.

Father. But I would desire a Years time to consider of those Affairs, concerning which I intend to treat with you, and when that is expir'd, to permit me to come unto you.

The King admiring the greatness of his Spirit, and being desirous to make such a man his Friend, granted his Request. All which time he spent in his Studies, and in learning of the *Persian* Language; in which he became so great a Proficient, that he discours'd the King more Elegantly than any of the Natives could. And when he had made several promises to him, and one especially of that which was most grateful, *viz. the destruction of Greece, if he would be pleas'd to follow his Advice.* Being highly rewarded by *Artaxerxes*, he return'd again into *Asia*, and dwelt at *Magnesia*, which City the King gave to him, using this expression, *That it would keep him in Bread* (for the Revenues of that Country amounted to fifty Talents yearly), *Lampsacum* would afford him Wine, and *Myuntes* Victuals. There remain'd but two Monuments of him in our time, his Sepulcher, near the Town, in which he was bury'd, and his Statues in the Forum of *Magnesia*. Concerning whose Death Authors much differ; but *Thucydides* seems to us to be most authentic, who says, that he dy'd of a Disease at *Magnesia*. Neither does he deny, but that

that there was a report of his voluntarily poisoning himself, when he despair'd of Conquering Greece, as he had promis'd the King. The same Author also says, That his friends bury'd his Bones in *Athens* by stealth, because the Laws forbid any one to be there interr'd who is Condemned of *Treason*.

[a] *The Ostracism.*

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
ARISTIDES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Mitchell,
M. A. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

ARISTIDES, the Son of *Lyf-
machus*, an *Athenian*, came so
near to *Themistocles*, that he con-
tested his Preeminence; which
made them detract from each other's Re-
putation, and gave a full Example of the
great Power which Eloquence has over
Innocence: For altho the Integrity of *A-
ristides*

ristides was such, that (for ought we yet know) He was the only Person whom the World has hitherto thought fit to Entitle *The Just* ; yet He was so run down by *Themistocles*, as to be Condemn'd by the *Ostracism*, to Ten Years Banishment. Perceiving that the angry Multitude would not be pleas'd, he yeilds to the Necessity of his Misfortune. At his going off, he observes one subscribing to his Banishment, and asks him *his Reason for it, and what has Aristides done, that he must be punish'd in so severe a manner ?* The Accuser replies, *That indeed he did not know Aristides, but was not satisfied, that He, above all Men, should so earnestly endeavour at the Name of Just.* He did not stay out the whole time of his Banishment ; for, within Six Years, *Xerxes* falling into *Greece*, he was recall'd by an Act of the People. He Engag'd in the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, which was before his Restauration. He led up the *Athenians* in the Battel of *Platææ*, wherein *Mardonius* was slain, and the *Persian Army* routed. I find nothing of his Exploits in Military Affairs, except in this Command ; but the Effects of his Sincerity, his Justice, and his Goodness, are not easily related ; particularly, 'twas by
his

his Conduct, that, when he and *Pausanias* (who was Commander at the Overthrow of *Mardonius*) were in the same *Greecian* Fleet, the Dominion of the Seas was transferr'd from the *Lacedemonians* to the *Athenians* ; the former, before that time, having been *Lords* both by Sea and Land. The Insolence of *Pausanias*, and the Justice of *Aristides*, were the Cause that most of the Cities of *Greece* made a Defensive League with the *Athenians*, and offer'd to fight under them, against the *Persians*, if there should be occasion. *Aristides* was the Man pitch'd upon to settle the *Quota* of each City, for the Building of Ships, and Raising an Army. 'Twas by his Advice, that Four Hundred and Sixty Talents were every Year laid up at *Delos*, which was appointed to be the place of the Common Treasury ; but afterward all the Money was removed to *Athens*. As for his Moderation, there can be no greater proof of it than that, whereas he had so great Preferments, yet he died so very poor, that he left scarce enough to defray the Charges of his Burial ; so that after his Death (which was about Four Years after the Banishment of

of *Themistocles*), his Daughters were maintain'd at the Charge of the Publick; and, at their Marriage, had Fortunes paid them out of the Common Treasure.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
PAUSANIAS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Hoy, Fellow of
St. John's Coll. Oxon.

PAUSANIAS, the *Lacedæmo-
nian*, was a Great Man, but va-
rious in all Conditions of Life ;
for as he was conspicuous for emi-
nent Vertues, he was no less overborn by
the contrary Vices. The Glory of that
famous Action at *Platææ* is ascrib'd to
him. For in that Fight two hundred
thousand chosen Foot, and twenty thou-
sand Horse, were shamefully beat out of
Greece by an inconsiderable Handful of
Men

Men under his Conduct; and their Lieutenant-General, *Mardonius*, a *Mede*, the King's [a] Brother-in-Law, of singular Personal Fortitude and Prudence, above all the *Persians*, left dead on the place. Flusht with the success of this Victory, his Ambition began to be tampering, and he carry'd an Eye upon greater designs: But in the very beginning he met with this rub in his way; having sent to the Temple of *Delphos* a Golden Tripod, found amongst the Spoils, with an Epigram inscrib'd on it, to this effect, *That by his Conduct the Barbarians were cut off at Platææ, and in Acknowledgment of the Victory, that Present by Him Dedicated to Apollo.* The *Lacedæmonians* caus'd the Verses to be Raz'd out, and in their stead Engrav'd only the Names of such Confederate Cities as had been instrumental in defeating the *Persians*.

After this, *Pausanias* was again intrusted with a Common Fleet of the Associates for *Cyprus* and the *Hellepont*, to dismantle the Garrisons of the *Barbarians* in those parts. In which adventure meeting with the like success, he began again to behave himself more insolently, and aimed at greater things than ever. For in the Sack of *Byzantium*, taking many of the *Persian* Nobility, and among them some of the Blood Royal, he remitted them
pri-

privately to Xerxes, and sent with them Gongylus, an Erætrian, with Letters to the King (as Thucydides delivers) in these words; Pausanias, the Spartan General, understanding that some taken at Byzantium were nearly related to you; has made you a Present of them, and withall desires to Contract an Alliance with you. Wherefore, if you approve of the Proposals, he sues for your Daughter in Marriage, on condition that by his means both Sparta, and the rest of Greece be put into your Hands. If you think these things worth your Consideration, send an approv'd Minister, to whom things may be communicated more particularly. The King extremely well satisfied at the safety of so many personages so near to himself, immediately dispatch'd away Artabazus to Pausanias with this Answer, That he applauded the Design, and desir'd nothing should be omitted which might be serviceable to it; promising, in case it took effect, he should never meet a Repulse in any thing he would sue for. Pausanias being inform'd of the King's pleasure, grew so forward in the business, that he incurr'd the suspicion of the Lacedæmonians, who remanded him home, where he was question'd for his Life, but the Allegations charg'd upon him amounting to no more than High Misdemeanours, he was only fin'd, and discharged.

charg'd from returning to the Navy.

Yet, not long after, of his own head he went back to the Army, where he follow'd such indiscreet and rash practices as confirm'd what hitherto had only been suspected of him. He laid aside not only the severer Moralities of his own Country, but their Fashions and Dress. He appeared in Pomp and Splendor like a Foreign King, and came into publick in the *Median* Habit. His Person was guarded by a Retinue of *Medes* and *Egyptians*; his Entertainments were after the *Persian* manner, with greater Luxury than his Friends thought allowable; he was hard of Access; he answer'd proudly, and commanded cruelly. In fine, he refus'd to return to *Sparta*, but withdrew to *Getonæ*, a place in the Country of *Troas*, where he engag'd in Measures destructive to his Country and Himself. The *Lacedæmonians* being certified of this, sent Deputies to him with the [b] *Scytala*, in which after their manner it was specified, That unless he immediately return'd home, they would pass a *Bill of Attainder* against him. Upon the receipt of this News he went home, hoping to disperse the Clouds which hung over him, by the power of his Money and Interest there. But the *Ephori* secur'd him immediately, in the Name and Behalf of the Com-

Community. For by the Constitution of that Government, this Power over the Prince is repos'd in the hands of any one of the *Ephori*. However, in some time he got rid of that Grievance, but could not so easily remove the suspicion he lay under; for it was still mistrusted he dealt underhand with the King. There are a sort of People among the *Lacedæmonians* they call *Helotes*, who are employ'd in manuring the Lands, and performing all other Offices of Slaves: These also it was thought he had endeavour'd to debauch to his Designs with hopes of *Liberty*. But the Evidence against him being merely Circumstantial, they deferr'd proceeding against a Person of his Name and Quality upon surmises and presumptions, till time should make a fuller Discovery.

While these things were in agitation, *Argilios* (a young man whom *Pausanias* had formerly defil'd to satisfy his unnatural Love) being sent by him with a Packet to *Artabazus*, a suspicion ran in his head, that there was somewhat in it nearly concerned himself, because he had observ'd, that none who went thither on the like Errand had ever return'd back. Upon this, breaking up the Seals, he found, that on the delivery of the Letters he was to have been made away; besides many things relating to the transactions

then on foot between the King and *Pausanias*; all which, with the Letters themselves, he immediately communicated to the *Ephori*. But here the wariness and moderation of the *Lacedæmonians* is not to be pass'd by, who suffered not themselves to be wrought upon, even by such proof, to take *Pausanias* into Custody; but forbore to use any rigor towards him, till such time as his own Verbal Evidence should be produc'd against himself; and accordingly they gave instructions to the Discoverer how to manage this affair. Now there was a Temple of *Neptune* at *Tenaris*, which the *Greeks* held inviolable; hither the Discoverer was to fly for Sanctuary, and kneel down before the Altar; near this they had contriv'd a place under ground, from whence any one might hear what was discours'd to *Argilius*, where several of the *Ephori* had privately posted themselves. *Pausanias*, as soon as he heard that *Argilius* was fled to the Temple, hastning after him in great disturbance, found him on his Knees before the Altar; and enquiring into the occasion of that sudden motion, he open'd to him the Contents of the Letters. At this *Pausanias's* disturbance increased so far, that he intreated him not to discover or betray one who had formerly deserv'd so well of him; promising for the future, if he

he would gratifie him so far, and be assisting to him under the present Distress, he should find it of very great advantage to him.

The *Ephori*, after this Discovery, concluding it safer to apprehend him in the City, return'd thither. And *Pausanias* having, as he thought, made up the business with *Argilus*, was arriv'd on the place where it was order'd he should be seiz'd: when he perceiv'd a Design out against him, from the looks of one of the *Ephori*, who had a desire to advertise him of it. By this means he got into the Temple of *Minerva*, call'd [c] *Chalcæcus*, a little before his Pursuers; but to hinder his escape thence, the *Ephori* caused the Gates to be block'd up, and threw down the Roof upon his Head, that he might have the speedier Death. His Mother is reported to have been living at that time; and, altho then of very great Age, when satisfied of the Treasonable Practices of her Son, to have brought the first Stone in order to block up the entrance into the Temple. Thus *Pausanias* sullied the Glory of a Great General by an Ignominious Death. Being taken out of the Rubbish half dead, he immediately expir'd. And tho some were for disposing the Body as was usual to such who had been Executed, yet the majoriry were a-

gainst it: so he was bury'd far from the place where he dy'd. However, afterwards, by the Advice of the *Delphic Oracle*, he was took up again, and Interr'd where he ended his Life.

[a] So Gener is also used by Justin, and in this place cannot be meant otherwise, because his Lady was Xerxes's Sister. [b] A sort of Tally, by which the General was inform'd of their Will. Describ'd by Plutarch in the Life of Lysander. [c] Suid. says from her Brazen Temple.

THE

THE LIFE OF CIMON.

Done into *English* by Mr. Creed, M. A. of
Corpus Christi Coll. Oxon.

CIMON, the Son of *Miltiades*,
an *Atbenian*, was very unfortu-
nate in his Youth; for his Father
not being able to pay his Fine to
the People, and dying a Prisoner of the
State, *Cimon* (as Heir only to his Debts
and Misery) was Arrested in the same A-
ction, and Awarded to succeed him in his
Confinement. Nor by the Laws of *A-*
thens could he be Releas'd till he had paid

the Mult^o impos'd on his Father. But he had Espous'd his half-Sister *Elpinice*, not so much to gratifie his Affections, as to follow the Mode of the Country ; for 'twas common with the *Athenian* to marry their Sisters by their Fathers-side. One *Callias* (a Man of a fair Estate, but of mean Extraction and Parentage ; for out of the Silver-Mines he rais'd his Fortune and Wealth) being his Rival, propos'd this Expedient to *Cimon*, for his Redemption, viz. That if he would yeild to a Divorce and Resignation of her to him, he would satisfie the Publick Treasury, and purchase his Freedom. But when *Cimon* generously scorn'd to part with his Wife and Sister on such base mercenary Conditions, she (out of Affection and Charity to him) declar'd, That she could not suffer the Son of the Great *Milvades* to be perpetually Damn'd to a Prison, when it lay in her power to procure his Enlargement. Therefore she resolv'd to marry *Callias*, provided he perform'd his part of the Covenant.

Cimon having thus obtain'd his Liberty, soon became a Chief Minister of State. For he was a great Master of Rhetoric, a very Generous Person, an admirable Civilian, and an expert Soldier; for his Father gave him his Youthful Education in a Campaign. Therefore he kept the
Citizens

Citizens in awe and subjection; and in the Army he was almost absolute. The first of this great Commander's Actions prov'd fortunate at the River *Strymon*; where he routed a vast Body of the *Thracians*. He built the Town of *Amphipolis*, and planted there a Colony of ten thousand Natives of *Athens*. At *Mycalè* he also Triumph'd over the Captive *Cyprian*, and *Phœnician* Navy, consisting of two hundred Sail. Neither were his Enterprizes by Land that day less signal than his Victory by Sea; for having made himself Master of his Adversary's Fleet, he Landed his Soldiers, and at one onset gave a total Overthrow to the *Barbarian* Army. Having enrich'd himself with the Booty of this Conquest, he return'd homewards. For now some Islands had Rebell'd; under the pretence of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power. Those whom he found Loyal to the establish'd Government, he confirm'd in their Principles; those who had traiterously Revolted from it, he compell'd to their Duty and Allegiance. He banish'd the *Delopes* from the City and Island of *Seyrus* (the present Inhabitants thereof) because their behaviour was stubborn and obstinate; and divided their Estates among the new adopted Denisons. At his arrival he defeated the *Thassi*, who trusted in the Fortress and San-

Sanctuary of their Riches. With the Spoils and Ornaments taken in these Wars the Southside of the Castle at *Athens* was beautified.

When this his prosperous Management of Affairs had Entic'd him to the greatest Name and Reputation in the City, he had the Fate to be Envied, as his Father was, and other *Athenian* Worthies; for by the majority of Votes inscrib'd in Shells (which they call *Ostracism*) he was condemn'd to a ten Years Exile. For which unnatural usage the *Athenians* sooner express'd their Repentance, than *Cimon* his Sorrow. For when with a generous and undaunted Fortitude, he bore the envy of the ungrateful Citizens, and the *Lacedæmonians* had proclaim'd War against the *Athenians*, They immediately perceiv'd the want of so much Experienc'd Valour and Conduct: Therefore after five years Banishment he was Restor'd [a]. He (because he had been courteously entertain'd by the *Lacedæmonians*) esteeming it the interest of both Cities, that the Difference should be Compos'd, without the Decision of the Sword; voluntarily went Ambassador to *Lacedæmon*, and by his successful Negotiation reinstated the two great Rival Cities in Peace and Unity. Not long after he was Commission'd to go into *Cyprus* with

with 200 Ships; and when he had subdued the greater part of the Island, he was seiz'd with a malignant Distemper, and Died in the Town *Citium*.

For many years after the *Athenians* (both in times of War and Peace) were sensible of the loss of their Patriot. For he was so free and generous a Gentleman, that he never substituted Bailiffs niggardly to hoard up the Fruits of his Farms and Gardens; lest any Man, that desir'd them, might be depriv'd of his Satisfaction and Enjoyments. His Footmen were always furnish'd with ready Money, that he might be provided on all occasions to relieve the Necessities of the Indigent, lest the Delay of his Charity might be misconstrued a Denial. If he saw any Man that had the misfortune to be in a beggarly habit, he usually bestow'd on him his own Coat. He kept so constant a Table, and such plenty of Provision, that he daily invited all those to Dinner (who were not preengag'd) that he met in the public places of Assembly; and never refus'd to be any one's Surety, nor deny'd them his Assistance, or the use of his Goods. Several grew Rich on his Bounty and Benevolence. Many poor Wretches, who left not enough behind them to defray the charges of their Funeral Rites and Ceremonies, he decently Interr'd

Interr'd at his own expence. Therefore 'tis no wonder, if by this his Carriage and Behaviour, his Life was free from Danger and Detraction, and his Death untimely and lamented.

[a] *The Nemeguen Edition of Corni Nepos, it in this place follow'd; all the other Impressions of this Author, having omitted a material sentence.*

THE *Wretches, who left not enough behind them to defray the charges of their Funerals, Rites, and Ceremonies, he decern'd*

THE LIFE

OF

LYSANDER.

Done into *English* by Mr. Kirchevall, M.A.
of *Corpus Christi Coll. Oxon.*

LYSANDER of *Lacedæmon* has gain'd the Happiness of a surviving Name, and is still Remembered and Renowned in the World; yet we cannot but impute the Greatness of his Character more to the indulgence of his Fortune, than to the merit of his Military Conduct. We confess indeed, that he gave the *Athenians* a total overthrow in the twenty sixth year
of

of their War with the *Peloponnesians*; [a] but we cannot be ignorant how he obtain'd that Victory; for it is very well known, that this memorable Defeat was owing to the ungovernable and dissolute behaviour of his Enemies, and to no Heroick Achievements of a well Conducted Army. For when the *Athenians* should have been ready to receive their Enemies Onset, they exerted their Courage another way, in the open defiance of their Commander's Orders: they left their Ships to the mercy of the Winds and Waves, and carelessly wanton'd up and down the Fields, till at length, being thus subdued by their Vices, they became an easie prey to their Enemy's Forces, and submitted themselves tamely to the *Lacedæmonian* Yoke.

Lyfander was always of a bold and turbulent Nature, and of a seditious and haughty Spirit; but this fortunate Conquest elevated his Ambition to an higher pitch, and made him assume so much State and Authority, that by his proud and aspiring projects, the *Lacedæmonians* were render'd extremely odious to *Greece*. For whereas they had given it out, That the only motive of their War was to take down the insufferable height of the *Arbanian* Dominion; He at the same time endeavour'd to establish as troublesome a
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Sovereignty upon himself: for having made himself Master of the *Athenian* Fleet on the River *Agos*, He made it the sole Object of his care and aim, to bring every City under his own Jurisdiction and Vassallage; all the while pretending, that He did this purely for the sake and Interest of the *Lacedaemonians*. They who had favour'd the *Athenian* Cause, were turn'd out of Office every where, and Ten others were chosen in every City to manage the Sovereign Sway; none being admitted into their number, but his familiar Acquaintance, or sworn Creatures. And having thus set up his Decemvirate in every City, He was quickly Lord and Master of all, and his Will and Pleasure became the chief Spring and Mover in every Affair and Action.

His Cruelty and Treachery (two social Consequents of his Ambition) come next to our view: we shall only give you a single instance of them both, least we should tire the Reader's patience by reckoning up more of his base and barbarous Actions. At his return from his Conquest out of *Asia*, He visited *Thasus* by the way, and would fain have demolished that City, only for its extraordinary Fidelity towards the *Athenians*, vainly surmising, that the *Thasians* would now prove their firmest Friends and Allies, tho' before

before they had been their incessant and implacable Enemies. But he timely foresaw, that the least discovery of his bloody intention, would have necessarily push'd forward their Revolt and Revenge, and have made them stand upon their own Guards, in defence of their Lives and Fortunes.

Therefore that Decemviral Model [b] which his own Interest made him erect, the contrary party pull'd down; whereat being grievously vex'd and enrag'd, he contrived and plotted, how to extirpate the Royal Line of *Lacedæmon*. But he found he could never accomplish this design, without the concurrent Authority of the Gods; for the *Lacedæmonians* had always recourse to their Oracle, upon every unusual occurrence of State, and would never admit of any Republican Innovations, without the antecedent Advice of their Gods. His first attempt therefore, was to suborn the Oracle of *Delphi*; but failing there, he ventur'd next upon that of *Dodona*; and meeting with a repulse here, then he nois'd it abroad, That he was under an obligation of paying some Vows to *Jupiter Hammon*, thinking to temper with the *Africans* at an easier rate. Being buoy'd up with these alluring hopes, away he marches into *Africa*, but there also the event fell short of his wishes,

es, and his expectations were mightily frustrated by *Jupiter's* Priests. For to wheedle 'em into the acceptance of a bribe, was so far from being a feasible thing, that it made 'em dispatch away their Deputies to *Lacedæmon*, to accuse *Lysander* of Subornation. Being impeach'd of this misdemeanor, he was acquitted by his Judges, and being afterwards sent to relieve the *Orchomenians*, he was slain at *Haliartus*, by the hands of the *Thebans*. How true a judgment had been past upon him, we may make an estimate from the Speech which was found in his house after his Death; in which he pressingly advises the *Lacedæmonians*, to null and abrogate the Regal Authority, and to single him out for their General to carry on the War. Now this was penn'd with so much Art, that its whole frame and composure seem'd to suite and humor the Oracular way of expression and delivery; the procurement of which he never question'd, relying upon the strength of his Purse. *Cleon* of *Hallicarnassus* is the reputed Author of this Copy.

And here we cannot omit the cunning contrivance of *Pharnabazus*, the *Persian* King's Lord Lieutenant, and one of a Royal Extraction. For whereas *Lysander* was conscious to himself of several mis-

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carriages in that War, in which he had the honour of Admiral confer'd upon him, as having been over greedy of Money, and too thirsty after blood; and was afraid, that the Rumor of his Misdemeanors was spread as far as his Native Soil; he made his addressees to *Pharnabazus*, requesting the favour of a Testimonial of the greatness of his sincerity in managing the War, and in treating the Allies; and because the Authority of so great a Person would have a prevalent influence upon the *Ephori*, he importun'd him, that in his Letter to 'em, he would spare neither care nor pains to set off his integrity to the best advantage. *Pharnabazus*, after many large promises (to rid himself of further importunity) fill'd a great Book with many high Expressions in his Commendation; the perusal of it giving full satisfaction and content to *Lysander*. But afterwards, when he came to set his Seal to his hand, in that very nick, he slyly convey'd another, already sign'd, into the place of the former; of a size so uniform, and so equal to it, that any one would have thought it really the same; tho' indeed it was contradictorily different from the other, and contain'd a full impeachment of *Lysander's* Avarice and Perfidiousness. Overjoy'd with the receipt of this, he ventures home, and makes an Harangue before

fore the chief Magistrate, in defence of himself; and having said as much as he thought convenient upon his own performances, in the close of all, he produced *Pharnabazus's* Book, as a substantial Evidence of his words and actions. At the delivery of this, being order'd to withdraw, the *Ephori* emyloy'd the interval of his absence in the perusal of this Manuscript, and after a full cognizance of its design and purport, they re-delivered it to him to read. So this inconsiderate man at the same time read his own Indictment, and proved it.

[a] *Id quæ ratione consecutus sit, non latet.* [b] *Sibi ab illo constitutum sustulerunt.*

A most Aflines of her skill and power, who have been THE D 2 THE him, agreeing in this, That such a mixture of the most Honourable and

THE
LIFE
OF
ALCIBIADES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Peers, M. A.
of *Christ-Church* Coll. Oxon, and
Superior Beadle of *Physick*
and *Arts*.

ALCIBIADES was the Son of
Clinias, an *Athenian*. Nature
seems, in the production of this
Man, to have exerted the ut-
most Abilities of her skill and power; all
Authors, who have written concerning
him, agreeing in this, That such a mix-
ture of the most Eminent Virtues and
Vices

Vices was never found in any other person, as in *Alcibiades*. The Greatness and Splendor both of his City and Parentage, Ennobl'd his Birth: And as for the Gifts of Nature and Personal Qualifications, he not only excell'd all his Contemporaries in Beauty and Comeliness of Body, but had likewise a Mind so richly and variously endow'd, that he apply'd himself to all matters (whether of Business or Pleasure) with unparallel'd dexterity. Accordingly we find, that he acquitted himself as an Excellent Commander both by Sea and Land; and was likewise so thorowly accomplish'd in the whole Art of Oratory, that he gain'd the precedence of all others, as well for a powerful Eloquence as a graceful Elocution. [a] Altho he was exceeding wealthy; yet could he, when the Exigence of affairs requir'd, endure the severest toil and hardship; no man living at other times with greater state and affluence, either in what related to his Table, or in his usual Attendance and Equipage. He was moreover extraordinary courteous and affable in his Conversation; and observ'd to be Master of an exquisite Art of Dissimulation and Compliance with all Persons and Occasions. Lastly: As often as he had a Release from publick Business, and some respite allow'd from labour and

intention of Mind, he gave himself entirely over to Lust and Luxury, being Dissolute and Intemperate to such a degree, that those who reflected upon the other Scenes of his Life, were struck with Admiration at the wonderful dissimilitude and inconsistencies of Nature in the same person, no man being found to differ more from Alcibiades than Alcibiades himself.

He had his Education in the house of Pericles, his Stepfather (for so he is recorded to have been); but for his Learning he was oblig'd to the Care and Instructions of Socrates, so that marrying moreover the Daughter of Hippocrates (the [b] wealthiest Person throughout all the Grecian Countries), if he had been to have made his own choice, he could not have pitch'd upon greater Advantages and Endowments, than had been freely conferr'd upon him by Nature and Fortune. In his greener years he was belov'd after the manner of the Grecians, and that by several, in the number of whom was his Master Socrates, as we are inform'd by Plato, in his [c] Symposium, where he introduces Alcibiades relating, That he lay last night with Socrates, and rose from him in the morning no other than a son ought to do from his own father. When he came to maturity of Age, he as industriously

striously prosecuted the same kind of Love towards others, wherein he proceeded as far as the [*d*] Laws were thought to allow; doing many offensive and distasteful things, in the way of humor and [*e*] frolick, throughout the course of his amorous Intrigues; divers of which might be related by us, were we not provided of greater Matters, and more fit to be transmitted to Posterity.

In the time of the *Peloponnesian* War, his Advice and Authority prevail'd with the *Athenians*, to break with the People of *Syracuse*, and Rig out a Fleet against them. For which Expedition *Alcibiades* himself was also chosen supreme Commander; two Collegues being joyn'd in Commission with him, *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. But before all Necessaries were provided, and the Navy in a condition to put to Sea, it happen'd one Night, that all the Statues of *Mercury* thorowout the City ([*f*] except that which stood before the door of *Andocides*, and had from him its usual denomination) were overturn'd and thrown down from their Pedestals. Upon this unusual accident, a strange consternation seiz'd the minds of the People; for they consider'd, that the Sacrilegious Fact had a publick aspect and tendency; and therefore that it must

have been committed by no small number of persons ; which made them apprehensive of an Associated Force within the City, able of a sudden to oppress their Liberty, and enslave the Commonwealth.

No man was thought more capable of Heading such a Party than *Alcibiades*, he having already attain'd to a greater power and sway than usually was, or safely might be, in the hands of any [g] single person ; so extraordinary was his influence and authority among the common people ; many of whom he had won by his frequent Largesses, and many more by his Patronage and Assistance in Law-suits and [b] Prosecutions. By which Arts he was become so popular, that the Eyes of the Multitude were (with a disregard to the rest of the Nobility) continually fixt upon him whenever he appear'd in publick ; so that for this Reason he came at length to be look'd upon as the principal Object of the *Athenian* Hopes and Fears ; all men esteeming him equally capable of promoting the Welfare and Ruin of his Country. Besides this, he lay under the scandal of holding Religious Conventicles in his House : which thing in it self was accounted a Crime of the highest Nature among the *Athenians* ; it being moreo-
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ver the general Opinion, that such [i] Meetings were not really intended for Devotion, but for carrying on of Plots and Conspiracies against the State.

An Indictment was [k] therefore brought against him in open Court; but he considering, that the time of his departure upon the *Sicilian* Expedition drew near, and reflecting upon the usual proceedings of his Country-men against absent Criminals, made it his Request to be presently brought to a Trial, and not to be expos'd at a distance to the craft and malice of his Enemies. But these, on the contrary, perceiving that they should nor otherwise prevail against him, desisted from prosecuting till such time as they concluded him arriv'd in *Sicily*; for then they renew'd the accusation with so much vigour and artifice, that he was presently recall'd by the Magistracy, being order'd to appear, and put in his Plea and Defence. Whereupon he readily obeying the publick Summons, and (altho he had the fairest hopes of having the Administration of his Province Crown'd with Honour and Success) going on board the Gally which was sent to convey him to *Athens*, landed at the City of *Thurii* in *Italy*. But here, his Prudence prevailing over his Resolution, he began to consider the boundless

boundless Power which the *Athenian* Populace assum'd to themselves, and the Cruelty with which upon such occasions they ever treated the Nobility; and therefore judging it more advisable to withdraw from the impending storm, he made his Escape from those who had the custody of him, and fled at first into the Country of *Elis*, and afterwards to the City of *Thebes*; tho it was not long ere he remov'd from thence to *Lacedæmon*; word being brought, that Judgment of Death was pass'd upon him, and that his Estate was Confiscated to the Commonwealth; besides (as was usual in such cases) the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd against him (the Priests [7] *Eumolpidae* being thereunto compelled by the Multitude), and a Pillar erected in the most publick place, with an Inscription Engraven thereon, to perpetuate the memory of this Religious Execration.

Arriv'd (as is aforesaid) at *Lacedæmon*, he frequently protested, that he had no hostile intention against his Native Country; but only against such men as were equally Enemies to it and Him; for being sufficiently sensible how much his Service contributed to the prosperity of the State, they had nevertheless thrust him into Exile; as evidently preferring their

their own² private Revenge before the publick Welfare. However, it was not long ere by his advice the *Lacedæmonians* contracted an Alliance with the *Persian* King, and strongly fortified *Deceleia* in *Attica*; by the Garrison of which place the City of *Athens* was reduc'd into much the same condition as if it had been block'd up by a formal Siege; so that the Country of *Ionia* being also by his endeavours won over from the interest of the *Athenians*; the *Lacedæmonian* Arms began in all places to prevail and be victorious.

Yet did not these their Successes so much encrease their Love, as awaken their Fears, and alienate their Affections from him; for considering him to be a person of the acutest parts, and most experienced prudence in all manner of Affairs, and fearing withal, lest prevail'd upon by the dictates of an inbred tenderness for his Native Soil, he should one time or other desert their Service, and purchase a Reconciliation with his offended Country; they judg'd it expedient, ere this should happen, to have him privately assassinated. This design could not long be conceal'd from *Alcibiades*; he being a person of so wonderful a sagacity, that it was impossible for any thing to escape his knowledg; especially when

when the least surmise or suspicion had rais'd his jealousy, and quicken'd his observation. Withdrawing therefore privately from *Lacedæmon*, he fled to *Assaphernes* (one of King *Darius's* Lieutenants), with whom altho he was ere long admitted into the strictest Bonds of Friendship, yet being much troubled at the rising Greatness of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the languishing Condition into which the *Athenian* Affairs were fall'n by their Losses in *Sicily*; he contriv'd, by special Messengers, to treat with his Fellow-Citizen *Pisander* (Prætor, or Commander in Chief over the Army at *Samos*) concerning his Pardon and Re-admission into his Country; *Pisander's* concurring with him in an aversion for the Commonalty; and an equal favour for the Noblest, encouraging him thereunto. And altho he quickly found himself disappointed in his Expectations from this man, yet was he some time after received by *Thrasybulus*, the Son of *Lycus*, into the *Athenian* Army, which lay at *Samos*, and made a principal Officer in the same; nor was it long ere, assisted by the influencing suffrage of *Theramenes*, he obtain'd a publick Act of Restitution and Indemnity, and was joyn'd in equal Commission with him, and the forefaid *Thrasybulus*.

Under the Command and Conduct of these three Generals, the face of Affairs in a little time appear'd wonderfully alter'd ; nay , it was not long ere the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Arms had hitherto been every where triumphant, found themselves oblig'd to become humble Supplicants for Peace ; and that not without good Reason, having been beaten in five Land-Fights, and two Engagements at Sea ; in which Engagements their Enemies are recorded to have taken no fewer than two hundred of their Trireme-Gallies. Add to these Successes of the *Athenians*, the Recovery of *Ionian* and the *Hellepont*, with many *Grecian* Towns seated upon the Coast of *Asia*. In the number of those Cities that were forceably subdu'd, was *Byzantium*, there being divers others which were won over to an Alliance, by the politick Clemency with which all places were treated by them, as they happen'd to be successively Conquer'd.

After these great Archievements, the three Generals return'd to *Athens*, bringing back an Enrich'd and Victorious Army ; the same being equally Laden with Spoil and Glory. But as soon as they were enter'd into the Harbour of the [in] *Præeum*, the City being in a manner deserted by its Inhabitants, so great was

was the confluence about *Alcibiades's* Gally, that the Sight and Reception of him alone, seem'd to have drawn forth the gazing and transported Multitude, who at this time firmly believed, that the present happy, and late calamitous Condition of their Affairs, were both entirely owing to him; yet blaming themselves for the loss of *Sicily*, and the victorious Exploits of the *Lacedæmonians*, since the same were wholly to be imputed to the Expulsion of so brave a Man out of their Commonwealth. Nor indeed was this an ill-grounded Opinion, seeing that from the very time of his Re-admission into Command, their Enemies could never prove an Equal Match for them either by Sea or Land.

No sooner was he come on shore, but (without the least notice taken of *Theramenes* and *Thrasibulus*, who landed at the same time, and had a joint interest with him in the late Archievements) the whole Body of the People crowded up towards *Alcibiades*, many of them presenting him, according to their different abilities, with Coronets of Gold, or Brass; an Honour never done before, but to such as were Victors in the *Olympic Games*. Calling to mind his fore-past Sufferings, he could not abstain from Tears as he receiv'd these kind Testimonies

monies of Reconciliation from his Fellow-Citizens; and as soon as he came into the City, a solemn Assembly being held, he made so passionate a speech to them, that he forc'd the natural Expressions of Sorrow, in equal abundance, from the Eyes of all that heard him; those even of the most unrelenting temper among them, lamenting his hard usage, and declaring themselves utter Enemies to such as had procur'd his Banishment: So that any man who had been a stranger to their Affairs, would certainly have concluded, that some other People, and not the very same Persons by whom he was now surrounded, had pass'd the former severe Sentence, and condemn'd him of Sacriledg. Hereupon his Estate, which had been Confiscated, was Restor'd to him by publick Edict; the Priests *Eumolpidæ* being also commanded to take off his Excommunication, and the Pillars on which the same had been Engraven, to be thrown into the Sea.

These obliging Smiles of kindest Fortune were of no considerable duration to *Alcibiades*; for when the highest Honours had by solemn Decree been conferr'd upon him, the Conduct and Management of all Affairs, both Civil and Military, being put into his hands, and

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Thrasybulus and *Adimantus* at his Request assign'd him for Collegues, passing over with a Fleet into *Asia*, and Fighting unsuccessfully at [n] *Cuma*, he fell again into the Displeasure of the Populace. The Reason hereof was, that they universally believ'd him able to accomplish whatsoever he took in hand; so that every ill Success was imputed to his Negligence or Treachery; to the latter of which they attributed the unprosperous Attempt made upon *Cuma*, none of them doubting, but that he could have taken the place, had he not been corrupted to the betraying of his Trust by the *Persian* King. Indeed the principal Cause of the several Calamities that befel him, seems to have been the Extravagant Opinion that all men had conceiv'd of his Valour and Prudence; from whence sprung the two different Passions of Love and Fear; and from whence at length it came to be generally dreaded, lest pufft up with his great Successes, and supported by as great Riches, he should grasp at the Sovereignty, and endeavour the Enslaving of their Free State.

These were the Considerations that induc'd them to pass a Vote for depriving him, tho absent, of his high Office, and substituting another in his place; the
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News whereof being brought to *Alcibades*, he judg'd it not expedient to return home; and therefore passing [o] over to *Perinthus*, he compleatly fortified the three strong Holds of *Bornos*, *Bisanthe*, and *Macronteichos*; and from thence marching with a sufficient Body of Men, he seems to have been the first *Grecian* that made an Inroad into the Countries of *Thrace*: and this he did, as being unwilling to infest any part of *Greece*; and judging it more honourable, to enrich himself with the Spoils of [p] *Barbarians*; by which means he not only made great acquisitions in Wealth and Reputation, but obtain'd of certain *Thracian* [q] Kings, to be admitted into their Friendship and Alliance.

But by no kind of Fortune could *Alcibiades's* Soul be divested of a tender Affection for his Native Country; and this he sufficiently manifested about this time, by the Advice given to *Philocles*, Commander in Chief over the *Athenian* Fleet in the River *Agos*: *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, lying at no great distance from him, and desiring by all means to prolong the War, because he knew that the *Athenians* had nothing left besides their Weapons and Gallies (their publick Exchequer being quite exhausted), and that the Forces of his own

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Country at the same time were supported and maintain'd by a constant supply of Money from the *Persian King*. Neither were these things conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, who therefore coming to the *Athenian Army*, spoke publicly in the hearing of the common Soldiers, to this Effect, *That if they pleas'd to accept of his Service, he made no doubt of forcing Lyfander, with his whole Fleet, to come to the decision of a Battel, or else to make submissive Overtures of Peace. That the Lacedæmonians were indeed unwilling to run the hazard of a Sea-Fight, because their main strength and confidence lay in their Land-Forces; but that he could easily prevail with Seuthes, the Thracian King, to drive them from Land, and that then they would be necessitated, either to come to fair terms of Accommodation with the Athenians, or venture all upon the doubtful issue of an Engagement at Sea.*

This Advice, as it was not really disliked, so neither was it embrac'd by *Philocles*, who well knew, that if *Alcibiades* were admitted to a Conjunction with him, he himself should be but an empty Cipher in the whole Action; and let the Event prove prosperous or otherwise, that on the one hand, he should have no share in the Glory; and on the other, no Partner in the Discredit and Ignominy

ny of such an Undertaking. *Alcibiades* therefore, finding that his Counsel was not accepted, told *Philocles* at his departure, that he would only leave this short Caution with him, To lye as near the Enemy as might conveniently be with his Naval Camp; and to take care, lest by the licentiousness and loose Discipline of his Soldiers, the *Lacedæmonians* should have an Opportunity put into their hands of surprizing his Fleet, and ruining the whole Army. Nor did the Event prove this a groundless apprehension; for shortly after, *Lysander* being inform'd by his Scouts, that the main of the *Athenian* Forces were gone ashore, and were eagerly employ'd in harassing and plundering the Country (their Ships in the mean time being left almost empty and defenceless), by one brisk and sudden Attaque, gave their Navy a [r] total Overthrow, and put an unexpected period to the War.

After this fatal blow receiv'd by the *Athenians*, *Alcibiades* judging it unsafe for him to make any longer stay in those parts, withdrew into the more inward Regions of *Thrace*, lying above the *Propontis*, not doubting but in such a place his Fortune and Quality might easily be kept undiscover'd. But it was not long ere he found that he was mistaken; for

a Body of *Thracians*, who had information of his great Wealth, placing themselves in Ambuscade, surpriz'd and plunder'd all his Carriages, wherefore, having himself narrowly escap'd out of their hands, and considering, that (by reason of the great Power and Authority of the *Lacedæmonians*) no part of *Greece* could afford him a safe Retreat, he fled into *Asia* to *Pharnabazus*, who was presently so taken with his courteous Deportment and obliging Address, that the first place in this great Man's Favour seem'd to be given to *Alcibiades*; who shortly after receiv'd from him, as a special testimony of Affection, the Fortress of *Granium* in *Phrygia*; the Castellany whereof yeilded him no less than fifty Talents yearly Income.

But this plentiful Fortune brought no real contentment to *Alcibiades*; of which his mind was absolutely incapable, so long as the *Athenian* continued in subjection to the *Lacedæmonian* State. The whole bent of his Soul was therefore towards the delivering of his Country from that Inglorious Yoke and Bondage. But this he foresaw could not be effected without the assistance of the *Persian* King, whose Amity was therefore to be procur'd in the first place; and of that he assur'd himself, if he might but obtain

tain free access to his Person. For having secret Notice of the [f] War intended against the King by his Brother *Cyrus*, with the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he question'd not, but by discovering this Confederacy, he should purchase to himself the highest degree of Favour and Affection.

While *Alcibiades* was contriving how to put this design in Execution (having already request'd of *Pharnabazus*, that he might be admitted into the presence of the King), *Critias*, and the rest of the *Athenian* [t] Tyrants, dispatch'd certain Messengers into *Asia*, by whom they gave *Lyfander* to understand, that the Articles agreed upon between him and the *Athenians*, must be Ratified by being Seal'd with the blood of *Alcibiades*; and that the Death of that Man was to be pursu'd by him, as he tender'd the Establishment and Perpetuity of his own Exploits and Constitutions. *Lyfander* was so far wrought upon by this positive [u] Message, that he resolv'd to deal effectually with *Pharnabazus*, and therefore sent him express word, That the Alliance between his King and the *Lacedæmonians*, should be null and void, unless he took care that *Alcibiades*, either alive or dead, were deliver'd into their hands: wherefore the *Persian* Governor (prefer-

ring his Master's Interest before all the Laws of Humanity and Friendship), immediately employ'd *Susamithres* and *Bagoas* to surprize and murder him, as he lay in *Phrygia*, and was [x] providing for his Journey to the King. These Assassins arriv'd accordingly with great speed and expedition at the place of his abode; and not daring openly to assault him, they set Fire on the House wherein he lay, as hoping to accomplish by Stratagem what their Courage despair'd of effecting. And yet had they like to have been disappointed in their Expectation; for *Alcibiades* being rous'd by the crackling of the Fire, and missing his Sword (which it seems had been privily convey'd away), he took the Dagger of his [y] Friend and Companion (a certain *Arcadian* that Lodg'd with him, and could never be induc'd to desert him in his lowest condition), and bidding him follow after, pass'd boldly thorow the Flames; the violence whereof was somewhat abated by the throwing in' of such Clothes and Household-stuff as came next to hand. But before he could make his Escape, and get quite off, he was overtaken and slain by the [z] Darted Weapons of the distant Assassins; by whom his Head being carry'd away, as a welcome Present to *Pharnabazus*, an affectionate

ctionate [a] Female (the constant sharer both of his good and bad Fortune) took the Body, and wrapping it in her own Vestment, committed it to the Flames; the same Fire that had in vain been kindl'd for his Destruction when alive, being now converted to the kinder uses of a Funeral Pile.

Thus dy'd *Alcibiades* about the Fortieth year of his Age; a Person of whom we find but a scurvy Character given by the generality of Writers; yet has he obtain'd the highest Commendation from three very grave and authentick Historians, *Thucydides*, his Co-temporary, *Theopompus*, a somewhat more modern Author, and *Timæus*: The two latter of which were persons of the most censorious humor, and observ'd (by I know not what strange Fate) to have concurr'd in the Praises of no other man but *Alcibiades*. For even by them are the same advantageous Particulars deliver'd concerning him, which are already related by us, and to which may moreover be added, from the same Writers, *That being born in Athens, a City for State and Grandeur Second to none, he outwent the Noblest of his Fellow-Citizens in Splendor and Magnificence of Life: And yet when driven from hence he arriv'd at Thebes, he so far comply'd with the Genius of that*

People (the *Bæotians* in general employing their time in acquiring a Robust Habit of Body, and not in improving the Faculties of the Mind), that he excell'd them all, as well in strength and firmness of Limbs, as in chearfully undergoing the most toilsom Labour. When he came among the *Lacedæmonians*, who account it the highest pitch of Vertue to endure such kind of hardship, he so readily accommodated himself to their penurious way of Living, that in a little time he had not his Equal for Abstinence and Parsimony, either in Garb or Diet. After this, dwelling among the *Thracians*, a People generally addicted to the Enjoyments of Love and Wine; even here had he also the Precedence allow'd him beyond Competition. And coming at length into *Persia*, where Labour and Industry in Hunting; and Luxury, and Excess in Feeding are of greatest Reputation, he acquitted himself to the admiration of all men. So that wheresoever he came; he got the general Love and Respect of the People; being presently accounted the most Accomplish'd Person for such Qualifications as were in every Country of highest Estimation. But enough of this Man: let us now proceed to give an account of others.

[n] This

[a] This hangs a little oddly together in the Latin: and yet we know, that a rich man, and a laborious, are generally observed to be two several persons. [b] Divers Copies have it *Omnium Græca Lingua Eloquentiâ disertissimum*: but this seems not very consistent with the high Commendation given already to Alcibiades upon the score of Eloquence: and therefore the other *Lectiō [omnium Græcorum ditissimum]* may be thought more genuine; especially since it is collaterally supported by the Authority of Plutarch, who only mentions the extraordinary Riches, and high Quality of Hipponicus. [c] A Book so call'd, because it contains *Table-Discourse and Entertainment*. [d] The ancient Grecian Laws are observ'd to have been too favourable and indulgent to that unnatural kind of Love. [e] Some of them may be seen in Plutarch; particularly, his taking away half the Cup-board Plate of his Paramour Anytus; who resented it so little, that he only said, he was oblig'd to him for taking but half. [f] This circumstance was perhaps taken notice of by our Author, because (as Plutarch tells us) Andocides was thereupon not only suspected of having had a prin-

a principal hand in the Action, but committed to Gaol, and prosecuted for the same, &c. One of the Evidences being ask'd, how he discern'd the Faces of those he accus'd; reply'd, by the Moon-light; and tho it was answered, that that could not be, because it was then the dark of the Moon, yet had not this palpable detection of Malice and Perjury the least influence upon the stupidly prejudic'd Multitude. Plut. [g] Pri-natus cannot be here apply'd in the strict and common acceptation of the word to Alcibiades, he being apparently no private person in that sence, because the Athenians had themselves advanc'd him to an high station among the principal Magistrates of their Commonwealth. [h] When a Catalogue of Criminals was brought into Court, he would usually strike out the Names of such as he had a desire should not be prosecuted. [i] Is there any thing (says Solomon) of which it may be said, See this is new? It hath been already of old time which was before us. [k] For breaking down the Statues of Mercury, tho Plutarch tells us, his Accusation ran for having celebrated in a profane and ludicrous manner the Mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine. [l] The Successors of Eumolpus, the Son of the Poet Musius, in that sacred Office. [m] It lay at a considerable distance from the City, to which it was join'd by a strong wall. See the

the Life of Themistocles. [n] Yet are we told by others, That the most fatal miscarriage in this Expedition, happen'd upon the Coast of Ionia; where Antiochus (an hot-headed Vice-Admiral) in Alcibiades's absence, and contrary to his express command, engaging the Lacedæmonian Fleet, was soundly beaten by the same. [o] With certain Forces rais'd and maintain'd at his own charge. Plut. [p] This word has been a long while us'd to signifie savage, illiterate, and unciviliz'd; but was at first apply'd by the haughty Grecians (as a term of distinction) to all Nations whatsoever that spoke not their Language. [q] His incursions and depredations being (as we are inform'd by Plutarch) made upon a sort of free People, and such as were subject to no King. [r] Conon escap'd only with eight Gallies out of about two hundred (if we believe Plutarch), tho our Author, in the Life of Conon, mentions it as a great unhappiness to the Athenians, that he was absent at the time of that Engagement. However this was, certain it is, that the Athenians were hereupon little less than absolutely Conquer'd, Lyfander shortly after taking the City of Athens it self, and putting the Government thereof into the hands of Thirty special Magistrates of his own choice and appointment. [s] Our Author does not term it a Rebellion or Conspiracy, because Cyrus was no Liege Subject

to Artaxerxes, *their Father Darius (as we are told by Justin), having by Will given the former the absolute Sovereignty of those Territories over which he had before presided as his Lieutenant.* [t] He means the thirty Magistrates set over the Athenians by Lysander, and call'd by them Tyrants; a Name originally not only of innocent but most honourable signification, being us'd simply for a King, or supreme Governor, and apply'd by the Grecian Poets even to Jupiter, and the rest of the r kindest and best respected Gods; but by a Republican Abuse of the word, brought to connote the greatest cruelty and oppression: tho the truth is, if a man would be acquainted with Tyrants and Tyranny in that sence (in which indeed the words have long ago universally obtain'd). he may most probably find them where thirty or forty, or perhaps rather (as some Nations have sadly experienc'd) three or four hundred Persons are by what means soever) possess'd of the Sovereign Power. [u] This must be taken not for a menace, but a piece of advice from the Thirty to Lysander, their Interest and his being embarqued in the same bottom; and they (as may be collected from Plutarch) beginning now to be apprehensive of no small danger from Alcibiades, whom they perceiv'd (tho in exile) to be in a fair way of recovering his former Esteem and Authority with the common People. [x] Others

thers say, That Pharnabazus being inform'd of Cyrus's design by Alcibiades (who had in vain desir'd by his means, to have admission to Artaxerxes, and was therefore about giving notice of the same to another of the King's Lieutenants), resolv'd to have him cut off, that so the merit of the discovery might be wholly his own. [y] Tho our Author terms him hospes, and familiaris (which last word may indeed be taken to signify a menial servant), yet by what follows (viz. qui nunquam discedere voluerat), he should seem before this time to have worn off those inferior and distant Relations. [z] He was slain with Darts and Arrows; says Plutarch. [a] Timandra, suppos'd by many to be the Mother of Lais, the famous Corinthian Courtesan. Plur.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
THRASYBULUS.

Done into English by Mr. Gilman, M. A.
of Magdalen Coll. Oxon.

THRASYBULUS, the Son
of *Lycus*, and by Birth an *Athe-
nian*, was a Person whom I
should not stick to place in the
Front of all the *Grecian* Worthies, if his
Fortune had been any way answerable to
his Deserts. Without doubt he outshone
them all in Fidelity, Resolution, Great-
ness of Soul, and an inviolable Affection
for his Country. And altho many boast-
ed

ed themselves born of more Ancient Families, yet none out-stripp'd him in any other Accomplishment of a Great Man. Whoever Rescues his Native Country from the Oppression of One *Tyrant*, does so brave an Action, that many Men have attempted, but few have had the honour of atchieving; yet was it this Man's good Fortune, to free his, groaning under the intollerable Burthen of Thirty at once. His Valour was first fledg'd in the *Peloponnesian* War; where being in a Joint-Commission, he did many great Exploits without *Alcibiades*, tho' *Alcibiades* did nothing without him, all his Actions expressing an ardent desire to promote the good of the Commonwealth. But in pitch'd Battels the Strength and number of Forces is as much to be rely'd on as the most Excellent Conduct; and the private Soldier justly claims a share in the Glory of the Action with the Commander. Besides, Fortune sometimes lets them know, that Success depends neither upon one nor the other, but is solely at her disposal. Wherefore the most glorious of all actions *Thrasybulus* may justly claim to be properly his own: For when *Athens* was miserably harass'd and torn by the Arbitrary Proceedings of those Thirty Burgomasters, set up (as it were a Council of State) by the *Lacedæmonians*; during whose uncontro-

lable

lable sway, many of the Eminent Citizens were kill'd, some (preserv'd by Fate from the danger of the War) were banish'd, and many others had their Estates confiscated and divided amongst the Usurpers: He not only appear'd as Chief, but singly proclaim'd open War against them; and when he fled to *Phyle* (the strongest and best fortified Castle in *Attica*), his brave Design drew along with him scarce Thirty Patriots. So weak were the Foundations of the Design by which the Liberty of that Illustrious City was asserted. He was not despicable for his Person or Parts, but was contemn'd for his inconsiderable Party; which at last prov'd of great consequence to him; as the accomplishing his Design for the Relief of his Country, and the utter and final Ruin of its Enemies. For they, lull'd in their own security, neglected a speedy and victorious prosecution, and consequently gave him a longer time to make himself more considerable both for Men and Money. Whence is evinc'd the truth of that common Axiom, *In War no advantage is to be slept*: and it is not without Reason said, *The Mother of a Coward need never Fear*. Yet all this while *Thrasybulus's* Supplies and Assistances bore no proportion to his Expectations. For even in those days the most Gallant Personages were more lavish of their VVords than

than Actions, and more hotly disputed their Liberty with their Tongues than their Swords. From *Phyle* he march'd to *Pyræum*, and fortifies *Munichia*; which place his Enemies twice attempting to take by Storm, in two general Assaults, were as often beat back with considerable Damage, and at last forc'd to retire into *Athens*, with the loss of all their Arms and Baggage. *Thrasybulus* in the mean time manages his Affair with as great Wisdom as Courage, and commands that Quarter should be given to all those who would accept it; saying, it was but reasonable, that *Fellow-Citizens* should spare one another. Neither indeed was there any person hurt afterwards, but those who continued in a posture of Hostility. He suffer'd none to be stript of their Clothes, nor touch'd any part of the Plunder, only Arms (for which he had urgent occasion) and Victuals. In this second Conflict fell *Critias*, the Ring-leader of the Thirty, after he had fought valiantly. *Critias* being slain, *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, comes to the assistance of the *Athenians*, and at length concludes a Peace between both Parties on these terms: First, That no Citizen (except the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten Pretors, who exactly Copied those Originals of Cruelty in their Actions) should suffer Banishment. Secondly,

condly, That no Person's Estate should be Sequestred. And Thirdly, That Democracy should be Re-establish'd, and the Sovereign Power remain in the hands of the People. One more remarkably great Action of his, we must by no means forget; When Peace was settled, and he bore a great sway in the City, he Enacted a Law, *That no man should be accus'd, or any way punish'd, for any thing that was past.* This was afterwards call'd *An Act of Oblivion.* But not satisfied with the bare Enacting of such a Law, he took a mighty care in the just and strict Execution of it, and check'd some of the Partakers of his misery in Banishment, who would have made havock of those men they had so lately receiv'd into Favour. For these great and illustrious Actions, *Thrasybulus* was honour'd by the People with a Coronet made of Olive branches; a mean Reward indeed, but attended with these Advantages, that it was in no manner extorted, but a voluntary and hearty Testimony of the People's Affection; and was therefore an Honour, free from the Detractions of Envy or Emulation. For as *Pittacus* (a Man justly Register'd in the Catalogue of the Seven Wise-men of Greece) well observ'd to the *Mitylenæans*, when they would have given him many thousand Acres of Land for a Reward;

Don't

Don't ye, says he, give me so Noble a Present, that many will Envy, and more will Covet ; I will only accept of an hundred Acres, which is sufficient to shew your Good Will, and my own Modesty. Great Favours are often snatcht away, whilst little ones, below Envy, are longer enjoy'd. Thrasybulus therefore, highly pleas'd with this petty Crown, sought no other Satisfaction, but look'd upon himself to be as much Honour'd as any of his Co-temporaries. In process of time, going Admiral to Cilicia, and his Soldiers being very remiss when they were upon their Guard, he was by a Sally surpriz'd in his Tent, and slain by the Barbarians.

F 2

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
C. O. N. O. N.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Jenefar*, of
Magdalen Coll. Oxon.

C O N O N, an *Athenian*, became Great in the Esteem of the Commonwealth at the *Peloponnesian* War; where his Conduct was signally Heroick. For he was Captain-General of the Land-Forces, and Admiral at Sea, and perform'd noble Achievements; which made him the Darling of the People, who Constituted him Governor of all their Islands; in which Commission

mission he took *Pharæ*, a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. He was also Captain-General in the last *Peloponnesian* War, when the Flower of the *Athenian* Army was destroy'd by *Lyfander* at the River *Ægos*. But *Conon* was not in Person at that Battle; from whence may be concluded the Misfortune of that fatal Day. For he weigh'd every Military Action; and was even jealous in acquitting himself like a General. Which makes it highly probable, that his Personal Valour and Conduct might have diverted that Massacre of the *Athenians*.

Yet in this sad distraction, when he heard the groans of his Country, he consulted not his own Safety and Retirement, but the Relief of his disconsolate Country-men. He hastened therefore to *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant of *Ionja* and *Lydia*, who was Son in Law to the King; into whose Favour he insinuated himself, tho not without great intrigue and hazard. For when the *Lacedæmonians* (*Athens* lying gasping) had broke their League, which they had made with *Artaxerxes*, and had sent *Agésilas* with an Army into *Asia* (where he was often Caref'd by *Tissaphernes*, who was formerly the Familiar of the King, but had revolted from all the Endearments of his Prince, and combin'd with the *Lacedæmonians*); *Phar-*
F 3
nabazus

nabazus march'd against him as General, tho in reality *Conon* was Chief, and his VVarlike Judgment controll'd the whole Council. He stopt the carier of *Agefilaus*, that so much Renown'd Captain, and confounded all his Stratagems; and 'twas the wise Conduct of *Conon* which prevented *Agefilaus* from renting that part of *Asia*, on this side *Taurus*, from the *Persian* Empire. *Agefilaus* being remanded home by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were embroiled in a VVar with the *Bæotians* and *Athenians*; *Conon* took that opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *Persian* Nobility, and soon became their only Oracle.

At this time the Malecontent *Tissaphernes*, had quitted the Court, of which the King was only incredulous; so great a share had *Tissaphernes* in the Royal Favour, tho in this very time of his disloyal Villany. Neither is it strange, that the King was unwilling to mistrust this his Creature, when he call'd to mind, that by his Prowess he quell'd his Brother *Cyrus*. Therefore *Conon* was sent by *Pharnabazus* to accuse *Tissaphernes* before the King; who being arriv'd, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he came to *Tutbraustes*, a Tribune and principal Officer of State, requesting that he might be introduc'd; without which Ceremony

ny none are admitted. To whom *Tithraustes* said, there should be no delay; but (said he) you must consult whether it were better to have an Audience, or to signifie your Business by Letter; for if you come into the Royal Presence, you must fall down before the King; which they call [*a*] *Divine Homage*: But if you cannot comply with this, trust me to intercede for you, and you shall certainly attain your desire. Then *Conon* reply'd, I could very chearfully pay any Honour to the King, but I fear lest it should be a dishonourable blemish to my Country, if I should prostitute my self to the Slavery of a *Barbarian*, who came from that People who by Nature are accustom'd to Govern. He therefore deliver'd his Business in a Letter; which being made known to the King, he was so taken with his Commanding Deportment, that he proclaim'd *Tissaphernes* a Traitor, Commission'd *Conon* to Fight the *Lacedæmonians*, and to elect whom he pleas'd to raise Money for the VVar. VVhich Choice *Conon* modestly deny'd to be in his Province, but in the King's, who best understood the Condition of his People; yet that it was his humble advice, that he would confer that Office on *Pharnabazus*. After this, being Honour'd with Great

Presents, he was Commission'd to Sea, that he might convey the Gallies to the *Cyprians*, *Phœnicians*, with the other Port-Towns; and that he should Rig a Navy to secure the Seas the following Summer; in which Commission *Pharnabazus* was his Colleague, as he had petition'd. So soon as the *Lacedæmonians* heard this, they acted with great Judiciousness, because they foresaw a more dangerous VVar, than if they had been engag'd only against the petulant *Persian*. For they were now to grapple with a bold and wary General, entrusted with the whole *Persian* Power, against whom their Stratagems of VVar were as ridiculously vain as their Strength. VVith this Resolution they contract a formidable Navy, and set Sail under *Pisander*, whom *Conon* assaulted at the River *Cnidus*, and after a desperate Fight routed: Many Ships he took, and many he sunk; by which Victory not only *Athens* but all *Greece* was freed from the Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Conon*, with part of the Navy, returned to his own Country, was very solicitous in re-building the VValls of *Athens*, with the Haven *Pyræum*, which were demolish'd by *Lysander*, and gave his Fellow-Citizens Fifty Talents which

which he had received of *Pharnabazus*.

Yet it happen'd to this Great Man as to the Ignoble Pefantry, who was more improvident in the smoother than in the rugged part of his Life: for having vanquish'd the *Peloponnesian* Squadrons, and fatisfied the revengeful thirst of his Country, he aim'd at higher things than his Policy could poffibly reach; all which Attempts were Pious and Honourable, in as much as he preferr'd the VVelfare of *Athens* before the King's. For when he had acquir'd a fplendid Eminency by the Sea-Fight at *Cnidus*, he began fily to whisper among the *Persians*, and all the Cities of *Greece*, that *Ionia* and *Aeolis* fhould be furrendred to the *Athenians*. But this Defign taking vent, *Teribazus*, Lieutenant of *Sardis*, inveighled *Conon* to come to him, pretending to fend him to the King upon an Embaffy of great importance. *Conon* obey'd the Message, and as foon as he arriv'd, was fecur'd in Fetters, which he bore for fome time. Others write, that he was brought to the King, and dy'd there. Yet *Dion*, the Historian, in whom we moft confide in *Persian* Story, informs us, that he escap'd; and feems only to doubt, whether it were by the

the Design, or inadvertency of *Teribazus*.

[a] *Græci vocant προσκυῖν venerabundè salutare.*

THE

THE LIFE OF DION.

Done into *English* by Mr. Clarke, M. A.
and Fellow of *All-Souls Coll. Oxon.*

DION of *Syracuse*, Son to *Hippa-
rinus*, descended from a Noble
Family, and was of [*a*] Kin to
both *Dionysius's*, the Tyrants.
For the Elder of them married his Sister
Aristomache; by whom he had two Sons,
Hipparinus and *Nysæus*, and as many
Daughters, *Sophrosyne* and *Areta*. *Sophro-
syne* he gave to his Son and Successor *Dio-
nysius*, and *Areta* was allotted to be *Di-
on's*

on's VVife ; who, besides his Noble Relations, and the Reputation deriv'd to him from his Ancestors, was oblig'd to Nature for many rare Endowments ; among which, an [*b*] Aptness to Learn, a [*c*] Courteous Behaviour, and a Disposition to brave Actions, were conspicuous : Nor was he less happy in a comely and graceful Presence. Besides, his Father left him a vast Estate, which was encreas'd by the [*d*] Gifts of the Tyrant. He had a great intimacy with *Dionysius* the Father, to which his Personal Merits were as instrumental as his Affinity ; for tho he lik'd not *Dionysius*'s Cruelty, yet he endeavour'd his Safety, upon account of their Alliance, but chiefly with respect to his own Relations. He was consulted with in matters of the greatest Concern ; and the Tyrant was very much sway'd by his Advice, unless in those things where the prevalence of his own Affections over-rul'd. All Embassies of note were perform'd by him ; in which his Civility, together with his faithful and diligent Administration of Affairs, took off from that imputation of Cruelty, which *Dionysius* generally lay under. The *Carthaginians*, to whom he was sent by the Tyrant, honour'd him highly, in so much that they never had any *Grecian* in more Admiration. Neither

ther was *Dionysius* ignorant of these things, nor unsensible how great an Ornament he was to him ; from whence it came to pass, that *Dion* was most in his Favour, and lov'd by him as a Son. So that when they heard in *Sicily*, that *Plato* was come to *Tarentum*, he not only gave the Young Man (who had a great desire to be one of his Hearers) leave to invite him thither, but after the grant, brought him in great state to *Syracuse*. For him *Dion* had so great a love and veneration, that he wholly yeilded himself to his disposal ; which was answered by *Plato*, who took no less delight in him. For altho he was cruelly misus'd by the Tyrant, who gave order he should be sold for a Slave, yet at *Dion's* request he returned thither again. In the mean time *Dionysius* fell [e] sick ; and his Distemper encreasing upon him, *Dion* went to the Physicians, to enquire how he did ; and withal entreated them to let him know, if his Life were in great danger, because he intended to discourse him about dividing the Kingdom, part of it, in his opinion, being due to those Scns his Sister had by him. This Enquiry the Physicians did not conceal, but carried it to *Dionysius* the Younger, who was so much concern'd, that to prevent any Conference between *Dion* and his Father, he forc'd the Physicians

ans to give the latter a sleeping Potion; which the Old Man took, and slept his last.

Such was the beginning of the quarrel between *Dionysius* and *Dion*; which many things afterwards somented. However, for some time there remain'd an appearance of Friendship; so that *Dion* being urgent with him, to send for *Plato* from *Athens*, and make use of his Counsel, he comply'd with his desire, that in something he might be like his Father, and at the same time brought [f] *Philistus*, the Historian, back to *Syracuse*, a man who was equally a Friend to the Tyrant and his Tyranny. But of this I have said more in my Book of the Greek Historians. As for *Plato*, his Eloquence and Authority so much influenc'd *Dionysius*, that by his perswasion he was resolv'd to restore the *Syracusians* their Liberties, and put an end to the Tyranny; but being deterr'd by *Philistus* from executing his intention, he became more Cruel than before. Finding therefore, that *Dion* had the advantage of him in Parts, in Authority, and the Love of the People, he fear'd their staying together might be an occasion of his own Ruin; upon which he gave him a Gally to transport him to *Corinth*, telling him withal, that what he did was for both their sakes,
left

left out of the mutual fear which was between them, one might be apt to supplant the other. This Action was highly resented by many, and drew great Envy upon the Tyrant, who to make the World believe, that he did it not out of hatred to the Man, but meerly for his own security, shipp'd off all his Moveables, and sent them to him. But [g] afterwards, when he heard that *Dion* was raising Forces in *Peloponnesus*, with design, if he were able, to fall upon him, he married his Wife *Areta* to [b] another; and order'd his [z] Sons Education in such a manner, that by giving him his swing, he might be tainted with all sorts of Vices. For while he was yet a Boy, they brought him Whores, and so ply'd him with Wine and Feasts, that he never had leisure to be sober. Insomuch, that when his Father return'd, and set Governors over him, to reclaim him from his former way of living, not able to endure such a Change in his course of Life, he threw himself from the top of the House, and ended his days.

But to return: After *Dion* was come to *Corinth*, and *Heracledes*, General of the Horse, [k] driven away by the same *Dionysius*, fled thither also; they hasten'd their preparations for War, with all diligence,

gence, yet made but small progress; for few adventur'd to run the same risque they did, because a Tyranny of so many years continuance, was by every one esteem'd very formidable. But *Dion*, who more rely'd on the Ill Will that all people bore the Tyrant, than the strength of his own Forces, with only two Merchant-Ships, undauntedly went against a Government which had stood for Fifty Years, guarded with five hundred long Ships, ten thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot; and to the astonishment of the World, so easily over-ran it, that within three days of his landing in *Sicily*, he entred [1] *Syracuse* it self. From whence it is evident, *That no Empire is safe which is not Guarded by Love*. At that time *Dionysius* was in *Italy*, waiting for his Fleet; and did not imagine, that any of his Enemies durst venture upon him without considerable Forces. In which he was mistaken: for *Dion*, with those very men which were under his Adversary's Dominion, abated the Tyrant's Arrogance, and made himself Master of all that part of *Sicily* which was in subjection to *Dionysius*, as he did of *Syracuse* likewise, except the Citadel, and Island adjoining to the Town. Whereupon the matter was brought to that pass, that the Tyrant was contented to make Peace on
the

the following Articles: *That Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius possess Italy, and Syracuse be in the hands of Apollocrates, a man in whom Dionysius reposed the greatest trust.* But this unexpected prosperity was attended with a sudden change; Fortune by her fickleness attempting to ruin him, whom just before she had exalted. The first token of her malice she shew'd in his Son, whom I mention'd before: for having brought back his Wife, who was given to another, and being desirous to rescue his Son from the Debauchery in which he had been bred, and reduce him to his former Sobriety, he receiv'd a grievous blow by the Death of his Child. The next misfortune, was the Dissention between him and *Heracledes*, who made a Faction, rather than he would yield the priority to *Dion*, and had as much interest among the Nobility as he: for by their consent he commanded the Naval Forces at the same time when the other did those at Land. This *Dion* could not brook; and repeated those Verses in the second Illiad of *Homer*, to this purpose, *That a State cannot be well order'd where the Government is in the hands of many.* The Saying rais'd him much Envy; for by it he seem'd to discover an intention of getting all into his own power; which Opinion he endeavour'd not to lessen by compliance,

G

plaisance, but suppress by rigor; and caus'd *Heracrides*, when he came to *Syracuse*, to be kill'd. An Action which struck every body with fear, no man thinking himself safe now *Heracrides* was thus taken out of the way. But *Dion*, being rid of his Adversary, with more license distributed the Estates of the contrary Party among his Soldiers. After which division, by reason of the greatness of his daily Expence, he quickly began to want Money; which he knew no way to be supply'd with, but by seizing his Friends Possessions; upon which it happen'd, that the gaining the Soldier prov'd the loss of the Nobility. These things he took very much to heart; and being unaccustom'd to be ill spoken of, could not endure those men should dis-esteem him who a little before had prais'd him to the Skies. For the Rabble perceiving the Soldiers were offended with him, talked with greater Freedom, and often called him an intolerable Tyrant. As *Dion* was in this perplexity, not able to appease their Com-motions, and afraid of the Consequence, [*m*] *Callicrates*, an *Athenian*, one that accompanied him from *Peloponnesus* to *Sicily*, a cunning fraudulent Fellow, without any sense of Religion or Honesty, came to him, and told him the danger he was in, by reason of the disgust of the
 Peo-

People, and hatred of the Soldiers; which, without employing one of his Friends to feign himself his Enemy, 'twas impossible to avoid; but if he found one fit for this Affair, he might easily know their Designs, and ruin his Adversaries, who would certainly declare their intentions to one that seem'd at variance with him. The Advice being approv'd, *Callicrates* took upon himself to put it in execution; and being encouraged by *Dion's* unwariness, sought for Associates to kill him, had Meetings with his Enemies, and confirm'd the Conspiracy. But many being privy to the business, it was divulg'd, and brought to *Aristomache*, *Dion's* Sister, and *Areta* his Wife; who in a fright ran with the News to him, for whose safety they were so much concern'd. He assur'd them, that *Callicrates* meant him no harm; and what he did was by his order. However, the Women not satisfied with this, got *Callicrates* to *Proserpine's* Temple, and forc'd him to [n]swear, that *Dion* should receive no mischief from him. Which Religious Act was so far from making him quit his design, that 'twas a means to hasten the Execution, he fearing the Plot might be discover'd before it had taken Effect. Being thus resolv'd, the next [o] Festival-Day, when *Dion* was laid down pri-

vately at home in an upper Chamber, he put the strongest places of the City into the hands of the Conspirators; and having surrounded the House with Soldiers, commanded some of them not to stir from the Doors. And that he might not be destitute of means to escape, if Fortune should prove cross to his Designs, he furnish'd a Galley with Men and Arms, and order'd his Brother *Philocrates*, who commanded it, to keep it moving in the Port, as if he only intended the Exercise of the Rowers. Besides, he chose some *Zacynthians* of his own Train, strong daring Fellows, and bid them go to *Dion* unarm'd, that so it might seem they came only to pay him a Visit. Their acquaintance in the Family immediately gave them admittance into his Chamber; where, as soon as they were enter'd, they fasten'd the Doors, fell upon him in his Bed, and bound him; which was not done so silently, but the noise was heard without. Hence it is evident, as I have often said before, how odious a thing the Government of a single Person is, and how miserable a Life they lead, who had rather be the Object of their Subjects Fear than Love. For his very Guards, had they bore him any kindness, might have broke open the Doors, and saved his Life; the Conspirators being forc'd
for

for want of Arms, to keep him alive till they could procure a Weapon of those who were out of the Chamber. But nobody coming to his Rescue, one *Lyco*, a *Syracusan*, reach'd them a Sword through the Window, with which they dispatch'd him. The Multitude after his Death came to look upon him, and not knowing the Murderers, kill'd several whom they suspected of the Fact. For it being nois'd that *Dion* was slain, many who dislike'd the Action ran thither, and upon a false surmise kill'd the Innocent instead of the Guilty. As soon as his Death was publickly known, 'twas strange to see how the People's Minds were chang'd: for they who in his Life-time afforded him no better a Name than Tyrant, now call'd him the Expeller of the Tyrant, and Deliverer of his Country; and so suddenly was Hatred succeeded by Compassion, that if it had been possible, they would have reedeem'd his Life at the expence of their own. Wherefore by publick Order he was buried in the most Honourable place of the City, and by the same had a Tomb Erected. He died in the five and fiftieth year of his Age, and the fourth after his return from *Peloponnesus* into *Sicily*.

[a] Facit: in usum Delphini. [b] Plato says the same in his 7th Epistle. [c] Contradicted by Plutarch in his Life, and Plato in his 4th Epistle, at the end. [d] The Treasurers had Orders to give him whatever he desired. Plut. [e] He surfeited at a Feast which He made for joy he was declared Victor in Poetry. Diod. Sicul. lib. 15. [f] Plato calls him Philistides, Epist. 3. [g] Plutarch says, That the Marriage of Areta to Timocrates, was before Dion's Preparations for War. [h] Timocrates. [i] Hipparinus, or Hipparion, or as Timaus says, Aretæus. [k] Being suspected to be the Cause that the Veterans mutiny'd when Dionysius was about to lessen their Pay. Plato Epist. 7. [l] Syracuse was taken the 48th Year of the Tyranny. Plut. Olymp. 106. an. 1. Diod. Sicul. [m] Calippus. Plut. [n] Plutarch tells us the manner of his taking this Oath: After some Holy Rites, he had the Goddesses Purple Robe thrown about him, with a burning Torch put in his hand, and so forswore what he was accus'd of. It was call'd ὁ μέγας, or the Great Oath; of which there were several sorts. [o] ἱερὰ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, sacred to Proserpine: for on that

that day they shaved their Childrens Heads
(and sacrificed to Her), one of the Cere-
monies us'd at the Enrollment of their Chil-
dren in their Tribes; which was done at this
time. Suid. and Plut.

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THE LIFE OF

IPHICRATES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Allam,
M. A. of St. Edmund-Hall, Oxon.

IPHICRATES, the *Athenian*, became famous to Posterity, rather by his accurate skill in the Art of War, than the Gallantry of any Noble Achievements. For he was so perfectly furnish'd with all the necessary Accomplishments requisite to complete a General, that he not only attain'd the Excellencies of his most Eminent Contemporaries,

poraries, but might justly dispute Pre-eminence with the Chief of former Ages. He was so very well experienc'd in Martial Affairs, that being often entrusted with the Command of entire Armies, he never was defeated by any failure or default of his own; and what Victory soever he obtain'd, it appear'd principally to be owing to his Prudence and Conduct. So great was his Judgment in all things relating to War, that he both advanc'd the Military Discipline by additional Rules to a far greater perfection than it ever had before his time, and improv'd those few scatter'd ones he met with to the best advantage. He also made most commodious and beneficial alterations in the Arms of the Infantry; for whereas before his time broad unweildy Shields, short Spears, and little Swords were only in use, he chang'd the first of them into a lighter Target, made somewhat in shape of an Half-Moon, call'd *Pelta*, from whence the foot afterwards receiv'd the name of *Peltastæ*; and by this more portable Buckler, he did not only expedite their Marches, but made them capable of receiving their Enemy's Onsets with greater readiness and activity. As for the Sword, he augmented its length, but doubled that of the Spear, changing moreover their Breast-Armour from Iron
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and Brass, to those made of Linnen, which render'd his Soldiers fitter for action; and by thus lessening their weight, he at once provided for their ease and security too. He was engag'd in a War with the *Thracians*, and restor'd *Seuthes*, an Ally of the *Atbenians*, to his Kingdom. At *Corinth* he kept the Army to so strict Discipline, that there were in no part of *Greece* to be found better Train'd Forces; or any who with so great readiness received and performed the Commands of a General, even in the most minute particulars; for by his pains and industry they grew so expert in all Military Orders and Postures, that as soon as ever he had but once given the Word of Command, they would immediately form themselves into as regular a Figure, as if the most skilful Commander had rank'd each private Soldier in his proper place. With this Army he intercepted a select Party of the *Lacedæmonian* Horse; which Action was very much extoll'd throughout all *Greece*. In the same War he gave their whole Strength a second total defeat; which also procur'd him a large stock of Honour. *Artaxerxes* purposing to fight the King of *Egypt*, made it his request to the *Atbenians*, that they would grant him *Iphicrates*, whom he design'd as Commander in Chief over his Mercenary Forces,

ces, the same amounting to the number of twelve thousand men; and having obtain'd his desire, he instructed them so fully and exactly in the whole Art of War, that as formerly the best *Roman* Soldiers were distinguish'd from the meaner sort by bearing the name of their Leader *Fabius*; so the *Grecians* had those under the Command of *Iphicrates* in the highest esteem. When he went to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, he soon put a stop to the Attempts of *Epaminondas*: for had he not hasten'd his March, the *Thebans* would not have rais'd the Siege of *Sparta*, till they had taken, and laid it utterly waste in Ashes and ruin. The greatness of his Spirit bore an equal proportion with that of his Body; his Presence being very Majestick and Commanding, did so clearly bespeak him what really he was, that his bare look of it self was sufficient to strike all Beholders with an Admiration of his Person. *Theopompus* has recorded, that he was remiss in matters which requir'd continu'd Labour, and that he could not well brook the hardships of War; yet he had still the character of a good Citizen given him, and was always reputed a Man of a steady and untainted Fidelity; of which, as on several other occasions, he gave most undeniable proofs, so he did in a more peculiar

culiar manner signalize it by protecting the distressed Children of *Amyntas*, the *Macedonian*. For *Euridice*, the Mother of *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, upon her Husband's death, presently fled with her two Fatherless Sons to *Iphicrates* for succour and patronage ; who being rich, generously asserted their just Rights against all kinds of wrong and oppression. He died Old, in the Love and Favour of his Fellow-Citizens, tho their Affections had been for some time alienated from him : for he, and *Timotheus*, were forc'd to make their publick Defences in the Associated VVar ; and he was acquitted by those who were constituted his Judges. He left behind him a Son call'd *Menestheus*, whom he had by a *Thracian* VWoman, Daughter to King *Cotus* ; who being asked, *which he lov'd best, his Father or Mother ?* reply'd, *his Mother*. And when all the Company wonder'd at the seeming strangeness of the Answer, he told them, *That he did not return that Answer, but upon very good Reasons ; For my Father, saith he, by Marrying a Barbarian ; us'd his utmost endeavour that I should be one also ; but my Mother did as much as in her lay, to make me the Son of an Athenian.*

THE LIFE OF CHABRIAS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Kennet, of
St. Edmund-Hall, Oxon.

CHABRIAS was an *Athenian*, one that bore a Name in the Catalogue of their Greatest Commanders, and perform'd several Exploits that very well deserve the Recording. Among which, there ought more especially to be remark'd, that Stratagem which he made use of at *Thebes*, when he came to assist the *Boeotians*: For in that Engagement *Agessilaus*, the

the *Lacedæmonian* General, being very confident of obtaining the Victory, and having made so great a step toward it, as the putting to flight all the Mercenary Forces of the Adverse Party, *Chabrias* procur'd the other Troops to keep their station, while by his own Example of kneeling down upon his Buckler, and holding out his Spear or Pike assaunt, he taught them in that manner to expect the Onset of the Enemy. *Agésilas* being surpriz'd at so unwonted a sight, durst make no farther attempt upon them, but immediately sounded a Retreat, and thereby summon'd his Soldiers to fall back, when they were just ready to have made the assault. This contrivance was so much applauded throughout all Greece, that *Chabrias* order'd himself to be drawn in that defensive posture in the Statue which was Erected for him in the *Forum* at *Athens* at the publick charge of that City. And from hence it commenc'd a custom, that ever after all Gladiators, and other Fencers, were wont to have their Statues carv'd to the same posture wherein they had got their respective Victories. But to return, *Chabrias* wag'd several VVars in Europe, while he was commission'd a General of the *Athenians*, and behav'd himself bravely in *Egypt*, when he serv'd as a private Volunteer. Going to

to the help of *Nectanebus*, he got him settled in his Kingdom. He came off with as good success at *Cyprus*; tho there indeed he was publickly appointed by the *Athenians* as a Collegue with *Evagoras*; nor did he dispatch from hence till he had subdued the whole Island, and from the happy management of this Enterprize, the *Athenians* purchas'd themselves very much credit. In the mean while arose a VVar between the *Persians* and *Egyptians*; the *Athenians* enter'd into League with *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* sided with the *Egyptians*; of whom *Agésilas*, King of *Lacedæmon*, made a very considerable advantage. *Chabrias* taking Notice of this, and thinking himself no way inferior to *Agésilas*, frankly offer'd his Service to the assistance of the *Egyptians*; and was made Admiral of their Fleet, *Agésilas* being Commander of their Infantry. Upon this, the Captains who were employ'd by the King of *Persia*, dispatch'd Messengers to *Athens*, to complain that *Chabrias* took part with the *Egyptians* in a VVar against their Master. The *Athenians* hereupon fix'd a day, by which time, if *Chabrias* retain'd not, they threatned he should forfeit his Life, for disobeying the Summons. *Chabrias* at this News comes back to *Athens*; yet stay'd

stay'd there no longer than was just necessary to avoid the penalty which was otherwise denounc'd against him. For he was not fond of residing among his own Country-men, having liv'd so splendidly, and far'd so high, that he could not but raise the Envy of the Rabble. For this indeed is a common fault in Great and Free Cities, That Envy is always fasten'd upon Glory; and most Persons are extreme forward in detracting from those who are promoted to be their Superiors. And, what is ordinary to observe, the Poor cannot without regret at their own harder fate, cast an eye upon the more ample Fortunes of the Rich. *Chabrias* upon these Considerations was as much abroad as his Affairs could dispence with. And herein he was not singular in his caution of staying little at home in *Athens*; for almost all their Eminent Men took the same course, thinking themselves so far remov'd from Envy, as they were distant from their own Native Country. *Conon* for this Reason, lived the most part in *Cyprus*, *Iphicrates* in *Torace*, *Timotheus* in *Lesbus*, and *Chares* in *Sigeum*. This *Chares*, it is true, was different from the rest both in Temper and Action; yet he was a Person of great Honour and VVealth at *Athens*. But finally, *Chabrias* came thus

thus to his end in the Social War; The *Athenians* laid Siege to *Chium*, *Chabrias* was in the Navy only as a Reformed, yet he had greater Authority than any who were in places of Command; the Common Soldiers paying more respect to him than to any of their Officers, which prov'd the occasion of hastning his Death: For whilst he was ambitious of making the first Entrance into the Harbour, and accordingly had directed the Pilot to steer in, this Adventure cost him his Life; for when he was got in, none of the other Vessels would follow; whereupon, being surrounded with the Attacks of the Enemy, he fought couragiously, till the Ship sprung a Leak, by some damage toward the Head, and began to sink under him. Hereupon, being unable to make any escape; for if he had thrown himself overboard, the *Athenians* would have took him up as he swum; he therefore chose rather to dye in his station, than to lay down his Arms and quit the ship: None of the other Sea-men would run the same hazard, but leap'd out, and escap'd safe to shore; while *Chabrias*, preferring an honourable Death before an ignoble and slavish Life, fighting hand to hand upon the Deck, was at last kill'd on the place.

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THE
LIFE
OF
TIMOTHEUS.

Done into *English* by the Honourable Mr. Booth, of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon.

TIMOTHEUS, the Son of Conon, an Athenian, increas'd his Hereditary Honour by his own Acquir'd Virtues; for he was Eloquent, Stout, and Industrious; and no less famous for the management of Civil than Military Affairs. He perform'd many eminent Exploits; but these following

following seem the most notable: He conquered the *Olynthians* and *Byzantins*, and took *Samos*; in which Enterprize (the year before) the *Athenians* had spent two hundred thousand Talents; yet *Timotheus* gain'd this Island without putting the Publick to any Expence. He manag'd the War against *Cotys*, and took a Booty from him, for the Commonwealth, worth two hundred thousand Talents. He also rais'd the Siege of *Cyzicus*; and accompanied *Agésilas* when he went to assist *Ariobarzanes*; of whom when *Agésilas* receiv'd present Pay, *Timotheus* chose rather to increase the Possessions of his Fellow-Citizens, than accept of that his own private Family could only partake of; therefore he took *Erichthon* and *Sestus*.

Timotheus being made Admiral of the Navy, sailing along by *Peloponnesus*, he wasted the Countrey of *Laconia*, and beat their Fleet. He reduc'd *Corcyra* under the Government of the *Athenians*, with their Confederates of *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, and *Chaonia*, and all the Countries that border'd upon that Sea. By which action of his, the *Lacedæmonians* were forc'd to let fall their old Quarrel, and voluntarily to offer the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Seas; a Peace being Concluded between these two Common-

wealths, one Article was, *That the Athenians should be Lords at Sea.* So great Joy was there at *Athens* upon the news of this Victory, that then it was that publick Altars were first Erected to the Goddess of Peace, and a Pallet appointed Her. The Memory of which noble Act, that they might perpetuate, they erected a Statue for him in the *Forum*; which Honour was never pay'd to any man before him, *viz.* That the same People who had set up a Statue for the Father, should give the Son one too; the last serving to revive the Memory of the former.

When *Timotheus* was very ancient, and had quite left off all publick business, War began to threaten the *Athenians* on every side: *Samus* and *Hellepont* revolted; and *Philip* of *Macedon*, being very powerful, made great Preparations for a War. Against whom, when they had sent *Chares*, they thought him not strong enough to oppose him; and thereupon make *Meneſtheus* (the Son of *Ipbicrates*, and Son-in-law to *Timotheus*) their General; and order him to go to the War. They also send along with him his Father and Father-in-Law, to be his Counsellors; Men excelling in Experience and Wisdom, whose Advice he should always follow, because they were

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Persons of such Authority, that there was great hopes by their means they might recover all they had lost. When these two were gone to *Samos*, and *Chares* had intelligence of it, he drew all his forces thither, lest there should be any Action in his absence. It so happen'd, that when they came near the Island, there arose a great storm; for the avoiding of which, the two old Generals thought it very expedient to cast Anchor. But *Chares*, without any consideration, not obeying the commands of his Counsellors, but as if he had Fortune in the Ship with him, draws near to Engage; and sends a Messenger to *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, commanding them to follow him. This Attempt having succeeded ill, and losing a considerable number of his Ships, he retires back again from whence he came, and dispatches an express to *Athens*, to let them know, that he could easily have taken *Samos*, had he not been deserted by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*. Upon this Accusation of his, they were Impeach'd. The Commons, who were fierce, jealous factious, changeable, and Enemies also to all in Power, call them home; and accuse them of betraying their Country. In this Trial *Timotheus* is cast, and Fin'd an hundred Talents; and so being compell'd, through the ill will of an ungrate-

ful City, he retires to *Calced.* After his Death, the People repenting of the Sentence they had pass'd upon him, remitted all but a tenth part of his Fine, and oblige his Son *Conon* to repair part of a Wall. In which Action may be seen the various turns of Fortune; for those very Walls which the Grandfather *Conon* had Rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, is the Nephew forc'd to Repair out of his own Estate, to the great scandal of his Family. We might produce many instances of the Wisdom and Moderation of *Timotheus*; but one shall suffice; from whence we may easily conjecture, how dear he was to his Friends. When he was but a young Man, he was forc'd at *Athens* to plead for himself; and not only his Friends and private Acquaintance came to his Assistance, but also *Jason* the Tyrant, who at that time was a Man of very considerable power. This Man, tho' in his own Kingdom, never thought himself safe without his Guards about him, yet came alone to *Athens*, valuing his Friend at so dear a rate, that he rather chose to endanger his own Life, than not assist *Timotheus* in vindicating his Honour. But notwithstanding all this, *Timotheus* soon after, by the Command of the people, fought against him; accounting the obligations to his Countrey greater than those

those of Friendship. This was the last Age of the *Athenian* Commanders; for after *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, there was no Commander of any note in that City.

L I F E

O F

D A T A M E S.

~~Timotheus was a Greek, the Son of M. A. and Fellow of St. John's Coll.~~

D I T H E H 4 T H E
 of Camillus by a Scythian
 dy, was the most considerable
 for Valour and prudent conduct
 of those of the Roman Nobility
 except the two famous Camillus and
 and Hannibal. What he did was
 great, and out of the usual road; for
 his known, that we are oblig'd to be
 his

THE
LIFE
OF
DATAMES.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Edwards*,
M. A. and Fellow of St. *John's* Coll.
Oxon.

DATAMES a *Carian*, the Son
of *Camissares* by a *Scythian* La-
dy, was the most considerable
for Valour and prudent conduct;
of any of those of the *Barbarous* Nations,
except the two famous *Carthaginians* *Ham-
milcar* and *Hannibal*. What he did was
great, and out of the usual road; yet so
little known, that we are oblig'd to be
the

the larger in our Account of him : For he never ow'd his success to the greatness of his Army, or to any of the common causes of it ; but always to that which seem'd his peculiar Talent, a most extraordinary Policy. His first Employment was in the Guards at *Artaxerxes* his Court ; but his Father, as the Reward of his eminent Courage and Constant Fidelity to the King, had the Government of that part of *Cicilia* which lies upon *Capadocia*, and is inhabited by the *Leucosyrrians*. *Datames* having a Command in the Army, first signaliz'd himself in the War against the *Cadusians* ; in which there were many thousands kill'd, and chiefly by his means ; for which Service, *Camissares* likewise falling in the Battel, he succeeded him in the Province.

Autophradates being sent by the King to reduce some to their obedience who had revolted, he behav'd himself with equal Gallantry ; for by his management a small Party surpriz'd the Enemy in their Camp, and destroy'd them ; the greatest part of the Army doing no service at all in the Action. After this, he was remov'd to higher Employments ; for *Thyus*, the Prince of *Paphlagonia*, (descended from that *Pyrrhenes* which *Homer* says was slain by *Patroclus* in the *Trojan War*) not sufficiently complying with

with the King, *Datames* (who was his Cousin German) was sent with an army to force his submission to the Kings Pleasure. But he intending to use his utmost endeavours, to make his Relation sensible of his duty upon easie terms, and not suspecting any Treachery from a Friend, went to him without any attendants; altho his Confidence put him in extream danger; for *Thyus* had resolv'd upon a private Assassination. *Datames* having intelligence of the design from his Mother, who was *Thyus*'s Aunt, and understood his intentions, made his escape, and immediately proclaim'd the War; which he vigorously continued, tho he was deserted by *Ariobarxanes* the Governour of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and all *Phrygia*; and made not only *Thyus*, but his Wife and Children too, his Captives. He made all the hast imaginable, that the news of this Exploit might not get to the King before him, and got privately to Court, without any one's knowledg. The next day he shew'd his Captive, who was a vast black hairy Man, with a frightful and ghastly countenance, dressed very richly in the Habit of a *Persian* Nobleman; with a Golden collar, and all other Princely Ornaments. He himself appear'd meanly, like a peasant, in a Hunters Head-piece, made of the skins of several

several Beasts; with a Club in one hand and Toyls in the other; and brought him out in such a manner as if he had been some cruel Monster, just subdued. So unusual a sight drew a great many Spectators; one being accidentally there that knew *Thyus*, inform'd the King of it. But he at first suspecting so strange a story, commanded *Pharnabazus* to go and bring him a certain relation of the thing; from whom, when he had receiv'd full satisfaction, he commanded him to be brought into his Presence, and was infinitely pleas'd with the humour; but especially, that so great a Prince should so unexpectedly come into his hands. After he had for this nobly rewarded *Datames*, he sent him to the Army which was then rais'd against Egypt, under *Pharnabazus* and *Tibranistes*, and gave him a Command equal to theirs; and after *Pharnabazus* was recall'd, He was made *Generalissimo*. But whilst he was hastning the general Rendezvouz of the Army, and preparing for his March to Egypt, he receiv'd an Express from the King, that he should go against *Aspis* the Governour of *Catania*; a Country which lies above *Cilicia*, and borders upon *Cappadocia*. For *Aspis* depending upon his Woods and strong Frontier-Towns, not only disobey'd some of the Kings

Kings Commands, but rob'd his Carriages, and made incursions on all about him. Tho *Datames* was at a great distance from *Cataonia*, and then in the management of greater Affairs, yet he yielded to the Kings pleasure; and in order to the execution of it, set Sail only with a few, but very stout Men; supposing, (as indeed it afterwards happen'd) that he could have more advantage over him with a small Company upon surprize, than with a great Army after open defiance. Being arriv'd at *Cilicia*, he continued his Marches till he had pass'd over Mount *Taurus*, and was come to the end of his Journey. Enquiring for *Aspis*, he understood that he was hunting near that place. The occasion of *Datames's* coming was presently suspected; and therefore *Aspis* immediately put the *Pisidæ*, and others he had with him, in a posture of defence. Upon notice of which, *Datames* muster'd up his Men, and commanded them to follow him; and being mounted on an excellent Horse, rid briskly up to the Enemy. But *Aspis* perceiving the vigour of the first onset, the least endeavours of resistance were discourag'd; he immediately surrendred himself; and was sent in Chains to the King, by *Mythridates*.

Artaxerxes, whilst these things were in agitation, recollecting, that he had call'd one of his best Commanders from a considerable Post, and sent him upon a trivial employment; but thinking that perhaps he was not yet gone, dispatch'd a Messenger to *Ace*, with orders that he should by no means leave the Army. But the Command was superceeded; for those that guarded *Aspis* were met upon the way. *Datames* having accomplish'd his business with such unexpected Expedition, was greater in the Kings Favour than ever; and became so considerable, that he was the Envy of the whole Court. For they perceiv'd, that his single interest was greater than theirs in conjunction, and therefore all jointly conspir'd his ruin. *Pandates* the Treasurer, who was his Confident, made him acquainted with all their designs, and told him by Letter what danger he was in, if any miscarriage should happen during his conduct in *Egypt*; That Kings took the Honour of great Actions to themselves, but always imputed ill success to their Ministers, and therefore were easily inclined to disgrace those whom they thought the occasion of it; That His condition was worse than any others, because it was the temper of the King, to hate those most who had before been

been his chief Favourites. Having receiv'd this news upon his coming back to the Army at *Ace*, and knowing the advice was not to be contemned, he resolv'd to leave the Kings Service, but did nothing that was inconsistent with his Trust; for he left the Army under *Mandrocles* a *Magnesian*, went with a Detachment of his own Men into *Cappadocia*, and seiz'd *Papblagonia*, which lay next to it, without discovering his disaffection to the King. After which he held a secret correspondence with *Ariobarzanes*, got some men together, and plac'd them in the fortified Towns for the defence of the Garrison. But it being Winter, the season of the year hindred some of his designs.

Hearing the *Pisidæ* were preparing some Forces against him, he sent his Son *Arifideus* thither with an Army. The young General was kill'd in the Engagement. But his Father, concealing the loss he had receiv'd, went with some more men into the Field, being willing to get to the Enemy before his Soldiers had the report of the Defeat; for he thought the news of his Sons Death would very much discourage them. Being arriv'd at the place he design'd, he so encamp'd that he could neither be oppress'd with the numerous Forces of the

the Enemy, nor yet hindred from making any advantageous Assault. His Father-in-Law *Mithrobarzanes*, Captain of the Horse, was then with him ; but thinking their condition very desperate, went over to the Enemy. Of which *Datames* having notice, he presently considered, that the noise of his being deserted by so considerable a man, might make the rest revolt ; and therefore gave out, that *Mithrobarzanes* was by his orders gone away like a Renegade, that he might be admitted by the Enemy, and so destroy them with less Difficulty, That therefore they ought not to deliver him into their hands, but immediately to follow him ; which if they did with resolution, the *Pisidæ* could make no resistance, for they would be slain both in their Camp and in the Field. The Design being approved of, he led out his Army, and pursued *Mithrobarzanes* ; upon whose approach to the Enemy, *Datames* commanded his Standard to be set up. The *Pisidæ* being in great confusion at the suddenness of the business, suspected the Renegades, and imagined they came with a treacherous design of doing the greater mischief. Therefore they first fell upon them : which surprising accident put them in such disorder, that they were forc'd to fight with those

those whom they had deserted: But being spar'd by neither, were all presently cut off. *Datames* afterwards falling upon the *Pisidæ*, forc'd them to fly, kill'd many in the pursuit, and took possession of their Camp. By this Stratagem he at once punished the Deserters, and gained a Victory over his Enemies, and made that which was intended for his Ruin, the means of his success. And perhaps it was a Design so cunningly laid, and in so little a time effected, that History can shew nothing parallel to it.

Notwithstanding these great Exploits, *Scismas* his eldest Son left him, and gave the King an account of his defection. *Artaxerxes* being troubled at the news, (for he knew he was to deal with a man of undaunted Courage, one who never design'd any thing but what he dar'd venture to effect, and never attempted any thing but what he had sufficiently consider'd) sent *Autophradates* into *Cappadocia*. *Datames* endeavour'd to possess himself of the Forest, which is the passage to *Cicilia*: but not being able so suddenly to get his men together, he was oblig'd to take other measures; yet he chose so commodious a place for his Camp, that the Enemy could neither enclose him, nor pass by him without being attack'd in several places: and was posted so advantagiously that

that in any Encounter their Multitudes could do very little damage to his small Company.

Altho *Autophradates* was sensible of all this, yet he was resolv'd rather to engage him, than either to continue long in that place, or go back with a great Army; for he had in the Field twenty thousand Horse, an hundred thousand Foot, and three thousand Slingers; which were the *Cardaces*, a people of the Lesser *Asia*; besides these, eight thousand out of *Cap-padocia*, ten out of *Armenia*, five from *Paphlagonia*, ten from *Pbrygia*, five from *Lydia*, about three thousand of the *As-pendii* and *Pisidæ*, two from *Cilicia*, as many of the *Caspians*, and three thousand Mercenaries, which he had out of *Greece*; besides a considerable number of Light-Horse. All *Datames's* hopes of doing any thing against such mighty Forces, were in himself, and the convenience of the place wherein he was Encamp'd; for he had not the twentieth part of the men which were brought by *Autophrada-res*. Nevertheless with these he ventur'd to give him Battel; and in it, with but the loss of about a thousand men, cut off several thousands of his. In memory of which he erected a Trophy, the next day, in the place where they fought. After he had remov'd his Camp from
I thence,

thence, tho his Army was ever the least, yet he was still greatest when the Fight was done; for he understood the Countrey, and always contriv'd, that the Enemy should be confin'd to such narrow places, where he had no room to manage any considerable number of men. *Autophradates* finding the War prov'd more unsuccessful to his Master than to *Datames*, solicited him to a Peace, and promis'd to restore him to the Kings Favour. He accepted the Conditions, tho he did not think them real; and said he intended to send his Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes*, in order to an Accomodation. And the War being thus ended, *Autophradates* went into *Phrygia*.

But the King hated *Datames* so implacably, that when he saw his destruction could not be accomplish'd by any open Force, he endeavour'd by some secret Methods to take him off. But he defeated several of their designs; of which the most remarkable was this; he had intelligence, that some about him, and such as were reputed his Friends, had contriv'd his Death; this he thought because it came from his Enemies, was neither to be over-much credited, nor perfectly slighted; but being willing to see the reality of the thing, he went to the very place where he was told they intended

tended the Assassination ; To one that exactly resembled him for shape and stature, he likewise gave his Habit, and commanded him during the Journey to represent him, by riding in his place. He himself was Accouter'd like a Common Soldier, and Rid amongst His Guards. And charg'd all the Company to observe his motions, and second them. When the Conspirators saw the Company, they were deceived by the place and dress, and assaulted the Counterfeit: which when *Datames* perceiv'd, he presently threw out his Darts, and the rest (according to the Sign) doing so too, they were all kill'd upon the spot.

Yet at last this sagacious Man was over-reach'd by a project of *Mithridates*, the Son of *Ariobarzanes* ; who assur'd the King of his Death, upon condition he might act as he pleas'd with impunity. The liberty being granted, and the Promise (according to the Custom of the *Persians*) confirmed by the hand, he pretended an open Defiance of the King, rais'd Forces, besieged his Towns, and vext his Provinces ; by Agents desir'd a correspondence with *Datames*, and after a Distribution amongst his Soldiers, complemented him with a Present of rich Spoils. By these Actions he perswaded *Datames*, that he had en-

gaged himself in an everlasting Quarrel with the King ; but however, to prevent the least suspicion of his designs, he neither desir'd a Conference with him, or an Enterview ; but manag'd his false Friendship so well at distance, that nothing should seem to be the foundation of it, but their common hatred of the King.

When he thought he had sufficiently settled him in this opinion, he sent him word, that it was necessary they should prepare greater Forces, and engage themselves in an Actual War with the King himself ; and if he approved the Proposal, that he would meet him at any place he should chuse to consult farther about it. The time and place being appointed ; *Mithridates*, going thither some days before, with one that was his Confident, hid several Swords, and nicely observed how they lay. When the day came which they had fix'd upon, they both sent some Servants to view the place, and then met according to the agreement. After they had spent some time in the debate, and were parted, *Mithridates*, (that he might not be at all suspected) before he was got to his Company, return'd to the same place, and sat down where he had buried one of the Daggers, as if

if he had design'd only to rest himself. But having taken up the Weapon, and conceal'd it under his Clothes, he sent for *Datames*, under pretence that he had forgotten some important matter; and told him, that as he pass'd along he had spied a very convenient place for their Camp. *Datames* turning, and looking with some earnestness upon the place which he shew'd him, was immediately stabb'd in the Back, and dy'd before any one could come up to his assistance. Thus he that had over-reach'd many by generous Stratagems, but none by any base Treachery, was at last deceiv'd and ruin'd by the plausible pretences of Friendship.

THE LIFE OF EPAMINONDAS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Lane,
Fellow of *Merton Coll. Oxon.*

EPAMINONDAS the Son
of Polymnius, was a *Theban*. But
before we begin our account of
him, it seems necessary to desire
the Readers, that they would not make
an Estimate of other Peoples Manners
by their own; nor suppose, that things
of small value with them, bear the same
rate amongst all the rest of Mankind.
Musick

Musick (we know) according to our sentiments, is below the Dignity of a Prince ; to Dance, the mean Employ of Slaves ; yet amongst the *Grecians* these are Gentle Accomplishments, of great repute. *Epaminondas's* character deserves to have nothing omitted, that may conduce to the knowledg of so great a Man ; wherefore we shall in the first place discourse of his *Parentage*, in the next of his *Education*, then of his *Manners* and *Disposition*, (and if there be any thing else on those heads worth relating) ; and in the last place , concerning his *Actions* ; These are the great concern of life, and are by most preferr'd before all the solitary Habits of a lazy Virtue. His Fathers name you have heard before. His Family was gentle, yet such as might receive, not give a lustre. Poverty seem'd entail'd upon him from his Ancestors ; yet never was *Iteban* more gently Educated. He learnt to play on the Lute, and to Sing, from *Dionisius* ; whose Fame in Musick was not less than the celebrated Names of *Damon* or *Lamprus*. *Olympiodorus* taught him the Flute, and *Calliphron* to dance. His Tutor in Philosophy was *Lyfis* the *Tarentinian*, of the *Pythagorean* Sect ; he was so great an Admirer of this old man, that his reserv'd severe Conversation pleas'd him better

than the gay Company of his Equals ; Neither would he leave him, till he had so far out gone his Fellow Pupils, that it was apparent his Excellence in other Arts would be proportionate to his happy success in these. If you give a judgment according to our Customs, these things may seem mean and contemptible, and not proper Theams of Praise ; yet were they anciently in Greece of as great concern as good breeding could make them. After he was fifteen years old, he betook himself to the Academy, for the Exercises of the Body ; where he did not so much aim at greatness of strength, as nimbleness in motion ; The first he knew might gain applause in a Ring, the other was of the greatest use in War. Therefore he design'd to himself such a perfection in Running and Wrestling, as he might be able while he was standing on his Feet, to grapple and close with his Enemy ; *but neglected the other tricks of these Exercises, which were perform'd by the Parties tugging and tumbling one another on the Ground.* These were his Recreations ; Arms were his serious business. This Strength of Body thus gain'd, was attended with a more numerous train of Goods of the Mind. He was modest, prudent, grave in his Behaviour, of great Ad-

Address, and none more wise in managing each juncture of time to the greatest advantage. He was well skill'd in the Art of War, Valiant in the Duties of it, and of an undaunted Courage; So severe a Lover of Truth, that he would not lye in Jest; Chast, compassionate, and patient in an eminent degree; easily forgiving, not only the Injuries of the Multitude, but of his Friends; above all things, careful to conceal Secrets committed to him; *which sort of Silence is sometimes of as great advantage as the clearest Eloquence.* He thought the readiest way to learn, was to hear; therefore when he came to any place in which Debates were held, either in Politicks or Philosophy, he never departed until the Discourse was at an end. Poverty was so easie a thing to him, that Glory was the only advantage he made of the Common-wealth. In his Necessities he was perfidiously deserted by his Friends; yet was his Kindness so constant to others in their Wants, that one would guess his Principle was, *That Friends have all things in Common.* Thus, when any of his Country-men were taken Captive, or any of his Acquaintance had a Daughter Marriageable, who could not be prefer'd for want of Fortune, he call'd a Consult of Friends, allotted to every one

one (according to the proportion of his Estate) what he should give; and when the design'd sum was made up, he would not himself receive it; but introduc'd the person who was to receive the benefit, to collect it, that he might know how much he ow'd to every one's kindness. He gave a brave experiment of his Integrity in the repulse of *Diomedon* the *Cyrrenian*, who at the request of *Artaxerxes* had undertaken to corrupt *Epaminondas*; in pursuit of this design, he comes to *Thebes* with vast Sums of Gold, and with a Present of five Talents brings over to his Party *Micythus*, a young Man whom *Epaminondas* dearly lov'd. *Micythus* addresses himself to *Epaminondas*, and acquaints him with the Gift he had receiv'd, and the reason of *Diomedon's* coming; whereupon he sent for *Diomedon*, and thus speaks to him; *There is no want of Money; for if the King desires such things as are for the Interest of Thebes, I am ready to comply with him without the Bribe of a Reward. But if they are of another nature, he has not Silver and Gold enough. For the Love of my Countrey weighs more with me, than all the Riches of the Universe. That you who did not know me, and thought me like your self, made this Attempt upon my Virtue, is no wonder; and I forgive you: But haste you hence. Such Temptations may prevail on others, tho they can't on me.*
And

And you, Micythus, restore him his money ; which if you do not presently do, I will deliver you up into hands of Justice. Diomedon , dejected at the resolute Honesty of the Man, now only desires to return safely Home, and carry his Treasures along with him. You shall (replies Epaminondas), not for your sake, but my own ; lest if your Money should be taken from you, any one should suspect, That I accepted that as a Spoil, which I had before refus'd as a Gift ; and did not so much contemn the Bribe, as hate the Obligations of it. Then he ask'd him , whither he would be convey'd ; and Diomedon answering to Athens, he gave him a Guard to conduct him thither ; and not content with this , he took care, by his Friend Chabrias the Athenian (whom we have mention'd before), that he should securely take Shipping there. I suppose this is a sufficient testimony of his unshaken Honesty. We might produce a great many more of the like nature, but we must deny our selves that liberty ; because we design in this one Volume to comprehend the Lives of many Illustrious Persons ; upon each of whom other Writers before us have bestow'd large Commentaries. He was the most eloquent of the Thebans ; nor less acute in extemporary Repartee, than perswasive in continued Discourses.

One

One *Meneclides* was his professed Enemy, always opposing him in the Government of the Common wealth ; he was a Man ready and bold in Discourse ; that is, he was a *Theban*, to which Nation Nature seems to have allotted more of Strength than Wit. When this Man found, that *Epaminondas's* Conduct in Military Affairs gain'd him Reputation, he began to advise the *Thebans*, To lay aside the thoughts of War, and enjoy themselves in Peace. This he did, not out of any Love to his Country, but to stifle the occasions of *Epaminondas's* Glory. To this *Epaminondas* replies, War indeed is a dismal Word ; and 'tis the Sound alone that you make use of, to affright our Citizens from their interest. 'Tis ease that you pretend, but Slavery is meant ; for the Foundations of Peace are best laid by the Sword ; and they that propose to themselves an undisturbed and flourishing Tranquility, must be well Disciplined in War. Therefore (O *Thebans*) would you raise your State above the rest of Greece ? This Glory is to be gain'd in Camps, not Schools of Exercise. At another time, when this same *Meneclides* objected to him, that he was never married, and had no Children ; and principally insisted on this, as a great height of insolence, that he durst compare his own actions with those of *Agamemnon's*. He answer'd, *Meneclides*,

clides, do not object the want of a Wife; for I should in that affair sooner take any Man's advice than yours, (for Meneclides lay under the suspicion of a very incontinent Fellow): But you are mistaken if you think it my Ambition to reach Agamemnon's Glory; for he, with the Assistance of all Greece, scarcely at last, in ten years time, took one City; whereas I, on the other side, with the single Forces of one City, and in one day, routed the Lacedæmonians, and deliver'd all Greece from Slavery. When he went to the Convention of the States of Arcadia, to engage them in a League with the Thebans and Argives, he found there Callistratus the Athenian Ambassador, to oppose his designs, who was esteem'd the best Orator of his time; he very bitterly inveighed against the Thebans and Argives, who were then Confederates; and amongst the rest of the Invectives, were these, That the Arcadians should consider what kind of Men both Cities had produced, and from thence give a judgment of the rest: Orestes and Alcmeon were Argives, and these wickedly murdered their Mother: Odipus was born at Thebes, who when he had killed his Father, married his Mother; and had Children by her. When Epaminondas had answered the rest of his Speech, he came at last to his Railing, and said,

He

He wondered at the Folly of the Athenian Orator, who did not consider, That these Men were born Innocent, but when they had contracted Wickedness enough to be Expell'd their own Country, were yet thought good enough to be receiv'd and caress'd at Athens. But then did his Eloquence most eminently appear, when before the Battel of Leuctra, all the Ambassadors of the Confederates were met at Sparta: Here, in this great Assembly, he so clearly set forth the Tyranny of the Lacedæmonians, that his Discourse did as much shake the Greatness of that State, as the Batrel at Leuctra; for then it was (which appear'd afterwards) that they were deprived of the assistance of their allies. That he was a very forgiving Man, and thought it unlawful to be angry at, or revenge the Injuries of his Country, take the following instances: When Envy had so far work'd him out of the Affections of his Citizens, that they would not chuse him General, but supplied that Trust with a very unskillful Commander, whose imprudence led their Forces into such Streights that they were enclosed by their Enemies, and now near Ruin; they began to reflect upon, and wish for the good Conduct of Epaminondas, who was at this time a Common Soldier in the Army. To him they apply themselves for
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assistance,

assistance, who taking no notice of their Ingratitude, rais'd the Enemies Leaguer, and secur'd a safe Retreat to the Army. Such Actions as these he often perform'd; but that which bears a greater lustre than any of the rest, is his brave deportment when he led the Army into *Peloponnesus* against the *Lacedæmonians*: in which Expedition he had two Collegues, one of which was *Pelopidas*, a very valiant Man, who falling under the Envy of some Crimes that were fastned upon him by his adversaries, all their Commands were taken from them, and new Pretors appointed to succeed. *Epaminondas* refus'd to obey this Act of State, and perswaded his Collegues to do the like, and so they proceeded in the management of that War. The reason upon which *Epaminondas* acted was this, He foresaw (if he complied) the ignorance and Folly of the designed Commanders would ruin the Army. The Law was, That it should be Death for any man to retain his Command longer than was limited by his Commission. This *Epaminondas* well understood, and the danger of it; but did not think fit, That the Law which was made for the Preservation of the Commonwealth, should be turned to its Ruin; therefore he durst continue his Command four months longer than the People had enact-

enacted. After their return home, his Colleagues being impeach'd upon this Crime, he permitted them to cast the whole guilt upon him, and to plead, *that it was wholly through his means they had not obeyed the Orders of the State.* Which Plea brought them clearly off; but none could believe Epaminondas would make any Reply, because the Crime being plain, they could not fancy what Defence could be made in the Case. He makes his Appearance, pleads Guilty to his Indictment, and confesses all that his Colleagues had laid to his Charge, and tells them, that he was very ready to undergo the punishment the Law appointed; but now, being a Dying Man desir'd this one favour of them, that that this Inscription might be wrote on his Tomb, Epaminondas *was put to Death by the Thebans, because at Leuctra he forced them to overcome the Lacedæmonians: whom, before he was General, not a Man of the whole Country of Boetia had the courage to look upon in the Field; and that in one Battel he not only rais'd Thebes from out of its Ruins, but restored all Greece its Liberty, and so far changed the Scene of Affairs, that the Thebans besieged Sparta, and the Lacedæmonian Pride was brought so low as to be contented not to be slaves: Neither, tho*
commanded

commanded, would he lay down his Arms till he had Fortified Messena, and by that means laid a perpetual Bridle upon the proud City of Sparta. This Speech raised Admiration, Laughter, and Applause in the whole Assembly; so that not one of the Judges durst give their Verdict. And thus he came off this Trial for his Life with great Reputation. The last time he was General, was at Mantinea; where, pressing too boldly amongst the Enemies, they soon apprehended the advantage, and (knowing his Death would be the safety of their Country) turn'd their whole Force upon him, encompassed him, and would not leave the pursuit, till after a great Slaughter on both sides, and a brave resistance made by Epaminondas, they saw him (wounded with a Dart) fall to the ground. This sad accident did at first somewhat discourage the Boeotians, but recollecting themselves, Revenge succeeded Grief, and they gave not over till they had utterly routed the Enemy. Epaminondas finding himself mortally wounded, and knowing, that should the Shaft be pull'd out of his Head, he must immediately dye, kept it in so long till 'twas told him his Army had got the Victory; Then (says he) I have lived long enough, for I shall dye unconquered. So the Iron being

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drawn

drawn out, he immediately expir'd. He was never Married ; for which Pelopidas (who had a very Debauch'd Son) thus reproving him, *that he took but little care of the Commonwealth, who would not leave Children behind him to support it after his Death.* He replies, *Consider whether you do not perform worse Offices to it, in leaving so leud an Heir, who may help to destroy, but cannot maintain a Commonwealth :* But as for me, I cannot want Issue ; the Leuctran Victory is my Offspring, which will not only survive me, but will immortalize my Name. At the time that the Exiles, under the Conduct of Pelopidas, surpriz'd Thebes, and drove the Lacedæmonian Garrison out of the Castle, Epaminondas (so long as his own Citizens were engag'd in the Fight) kept himself at home, and forbore all Action. The reason of which proceeding was, that he could not in Honour join with these Betrayers of their Countrey, nor would he appear in Arms against them, because he would not stain himself with the Blood of his Countrey-men ; for he well knew, *That Victory in a Civil War was, at best but an unfortunate Prize.* But this same Man, as soon as the Battel was drawn off as far as the Cadmea, and the Lacedæmonians only concern'd, thrust himself into the foremost Rank. I think

I shall have said enough of the Virtues and Actions of this great Man, if I add but this one thing, which none can deny, That before *Epaminondas's* Birth, and after his Death, *Thebes* was constantly subject to a Forreign Power; but on the contrary, while he Presided in that Commonwealth, it became the Leading State of Greece. Whence we may draw this conclusion, *That the Bravery of one Great Man does more advance a State than the whole Mass of People.*

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THE LIFE OF

PELOPIDAS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Creech.

PELOPIDAS, the *Theban*, is more famous in History than common Talk; of whose Virtues I cannot tell in what manner I shall treat; for should I give a full description of his Actions, 'tis justly to be feared, that I should rather seem to write a History than his Life; and if I should only touch upon the heads, that then I should cloud his Reputation; and those who are unacquainted with the *Greek Histories*,

ries, would not perceive how great a Man he was: Therefore, to the best of my power to prevent both, I shall provide against the satiety as well as ignorance of my Readers. *Phœbidas* the *Spartan*, as he led his Army through *Thebes* towards *Olynthus*, at the instigation of some few *Thebans* (whom that they might the more easily check the contrary Faction, sided with the *Spartan* interest) surpriz'd the Citadel *Cadmea*; and this he did, not by any order from the State, but upon his own head; for which the *Lacedæmonians* took away his Commission, and set a Fine upon him; but refus'd to surrender the Castle to the *Thebans*; concluding it more politick, now distaste was once given, to continue a Guard upon them, than permit them to be free. For after the *Peloponnesian* War, and the *Athenians* overcome, they saw the *Thebans* only stand in competition and dare to oppose their Empire. Upon this account they put their Friends in power; and as for the Heads of the contrary Faction, some they butcher'd, and some they Banish'd: Amongst which, this *Pelopidas* (whom I mention'd in the beginning) was an Exile. Almost all these fled to *Athens*, not to live lazily, and at ease, but as being the nearest and most convenient station, whence on the first opportunity they might en-

deavour the freedom of their Country : And therefore as soon as time appear'd, upon agreement with their friends at *Thebes*, they made choice of that day in which the Governors used to meet at a publick Banquet, to destroy their Enemies, and free the City : Great Actions are often perform'd with no great force : But certainly never before from so mean a beginning as this, was so great an Empire overthrow'n : For not above twelve of the banish'd Youth undertook the Enterprize ; and not above an hundred would join with them in so dangerous an Attempt ; and yet by this despicable number was the Power of the *Spartans* Ruin'd : for these did not so much Attempt the contrary Faction in *Thebes*, as the *Lacedæmonians*, the then Lords of *Greece* ; and whose Empire first wounded by this Action, was a little while after in the Battel of *Leuctra* brought to the last gasp : Now these twelve, *Pelopidas* their Leader, leaving *Athens* in the day-time, thar about the dusk of the Evening they might reach *Thebes*, to prevent suspicion they put themselves in a Country dress, and appear'd like Hunters, with Hounds, Hunting-Poles and Nets ; and entring the City at the very nick of time they refresh'd themselves at *Charon's* house, by whose appointment the day for the Attempt,

Attempt was set. And here I crave leave to break my story with a short Observation, To what great Calamities doth supine security expose! For the *Theban* Magistrates were quickly informed, that the Exiles were in Town: but being eager on their Entertainment, they slighted the discovery so much, that they would not trouble themselves to examine a matter of so great concernment: Besides, which is a clearer demonstration of their madness, a Letter was brought from *Archias* the chief Priest of *Athens*, to *Archias* the chief Magistrate of *Thebes*, which made a full discovery of the Plot: This being delivered him while he was at Table, without opening it, he clapt it under his Cushion, with these words, *I adjourn Business till to-morrow*. In the dead of the night, when they were well drunk, the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, dispatcht them all: And that work once over, and the common People call'd in to Liberty and Arms, many from the Countrey as well as Town came in to their Assistance. They beat the *Spartan* Garrison out of the Castle, freed their Countrey, and as for those who enticed *Phæbidas* to surprize the *Cadmea*, some they Executed, and some they banish'd. All this unquiet time, *Epaminondas* (as I hinted in his Life) whilst

the Citizens only quarrell'd amongst themselves, never stirr'd; and therefore the freeing of *Thebes* is the peculiar Glory of *Pelopidas*. In almost all other Exploits *Epaminondas* had a share; for in the Battel at *Leuctra*, *Epaminondas* was General, and *Pelopidas* Captain of a Select Band, which first broke the Main Body of the *Spartans*; and in all Enterprizes he made none. Thus when *Sparta* was form'd, he Commanded one Wing; and that the old *Assenians* might quickly recover their own Country. He himself went an Ambassador to the *Persian*. In short, he was the other Man at *Thebes*, tho' but second, yet so as to be next *Epaminondas*. He had also cross fortune to Encounter; for first (as, I have already mention'd) he liv'd in Banishment; and when he design'd to bring *Thessaly* under the *Theban* Power, and thought the Character of an Ambassador, which all Nations hold Sacred, was a sufficient Protection: He and *Ismenidas* were seiz'd by *Alexander* the *Pherean* Tyrant, and clapt in Chains. *Epaminondas* Warr'd on *Alexander*, and reliev'd him; but never after that could he be Friends with him that had offer'd the affront. And therefore he perswaded the *Thebans*, to undertake the Protection of *Thessaly*, and expel the Tyrants: He being chief Commander

mander in that Expedition, and having led his Forces into *Thessaly*, as soon as ever he came in sight of the Enemy, hastened to a Battel: In which Fight when he saw *Alexander*, fir'd with rage, he spur'd his Horse towards him, and advancing a great way before His Soldiers, was shot through. This happen'd in his second Victory, for the Tyrants Forces were already routed: For this Action, all the Cities of *Thessaly* Honour'd dead *Pelopidas* with Golden Crowns, and Brazen Statues, and gave his Children a considerable piece of Land.

THE
LIFE
OF
AGESILAUS.

Done into *English* by Mr. Scott, M. A.
and Fellow of *Queens Coll. Oxon.*

AGESILAUS of *Lacedæmon*,
is a person highly applauded by
the greater part of Historians,
particularly by *Xenophon*, Scholar
of *Socrates*, who treats him with a
singular respect: At first he stood in
Competition for the Crown with *Leotychi-*
des, his Brother *Agi's* Son. It was a re-
ceived

ceived Custom amongst the *Spartans*, to Dignifie two Persons at a time with the Name of King, tho in effect neither of them had much of the [a] Power. These two were always to be of the two Eminent Families of *Proclus* and *Eurysthenes* formerly Kings of *Sparta*, who had both descended from the ever famous *Hercules*, and from him had derived their Titles; yet especial care was taken, that the two lines should not mix and confound; but that each should descend in its proper Channel, and that in both these the Eldest Heir Male should always succeed: and in defect of him, the next Prince of the Blood; the Female Sex being excluded. *Agis* in his Life-time had denied *Leotychides* to be [b] Legitimate, but being better advis'd at his Death, declar'd him to be his Son: which gave encouragement to *Leotychides*, after the decease of *Agis*, to dispute the Empire with his Uncle *Agésilas*; but by the Prevalency of *Lysander*, a Turbulent and Potent Man in those times, *Leotychides* was rejected, and *Agésilas* preferred.

No sooner was he invested in the Kingdom, but being of an active Spirit, he perswades the *Lacedæmonians* to make an Invasion upon *Asia*, and to Commence War against that King in his own Territories; holding it a Maxim of good Policy,

licy, rather to remove a War into an E-
 nemy's Country, than to entertain it at
 home. Besides, the noise of [c] *Artaxerxes*
 his Arms had already reach'd Greece; to
 invade which, he had Equip'd a well-
 furnish'd Fleet, and set a Potent Land-Ar-
 my on foot, and therefore to prevent
 him, *Agesslaus*, as soon as he had got his
 Forces in a readiness, enters *Asia* with
 such an incredible Expedition, that his
 unexpected presence anticipated the
 Fame of his coming: and that Kings
 Lieutenants found him set down in the
 midst of their Country before they had
 any notice of his design, to their great a-
 stonishment and confusion, they not
 being in a posture to make any defence.
 The news of so unexpected a Guest could
 not long be conceal'd from the ears of
Tissaphernes, *Artaxerxes's* Viceroy there,
 who upon the first Advertisement of it,
 politickly desires a Truce with the *Spar-*
tans, under pretence of his friendly In-
 terposition, to accommodate matters a-
 micably and fairly betwixt both parties,
 but really for nothing else, but to gain
 time to levy Forces. However it was, a
 Truce was agreed upon for three
 months: the two Generals binding them-
 selves with a solemn Oath to observe it.
 And accordingly none was ever more
 punctually observ'd by *Agesslaus*, and less
 by

by *Tissaphernes*, who improv'd the time in making preparation for War. This the generous *Spartan* knew very well; but yet could not be induc'd to violate his Oath, and make a breach, saying, 'That he should be the greatest Gainer at length, for *Tissaphernes* by his Perjury must necessarily expose himself and his undertakings to the just indignation of the Gods and Men: But that he by his Religious observance should gain both Reputation and Strength to his Party; since the Gods are always more propitious to, and all wise Men will the rather favour and wish well to those, who put a value upon what they say, and are true to the Trust which is reposit'd in them.

The Truce expir'd, *Tissaphernes* draws down his Forces into *Caria*, partly to secure his own Possessions there, and because that Country being of all the Richest, would in all probability be the object of the Enemies first Attempt. But he was mistaken in his conjecture, for *Agésilæus* suddenly wheels about into [d.] *Phrygia*, which he over-ran with such celerity, that he had depopulated the whole Country before *Tissaphernes* had advanc'd one foot forward to its relief.

Having here gratified his Soldiers with

with the Spoils of the place, he brought them back to their Winter-Quarters at *Ephesus*, where he set the *Artisans* on work to prepare and furnish him with all sorts of Arms; and those of his Soldiers who were industrious to fit and Accoutre themselves therewith, he (for the encouragement of others) oblig'd with some special Reward or Mark of his Favour; as likewise every one who in their daily Military Exercises particularly Signaliz'd himself above the rest; by which means he effected, that in a few days he had the best appointed, and the best Disciplin'd Army in the World. When it was time to leave his Winter-Quarters, he publickly Proclaim'd what way he really design'd to direct his course; having learn'd by good Experience, that the Incredulous *Asian* would never believe the protests of his Enemy, but would certainly send his Forces to Guard those Provinces which were most distant from that which he declar'd himself ready to invade. Accordingly it prov'd; for *Agésilas* manifesting his design to make an inroad into [e] *Sardis*, *Tissaphernes* (whose own fault it was thus to be deceived the second time) again advances into *Caria* to defend it, but by the event discovering his error, he returns with all speed to the assistance of
Sardis,

Sardis, but it was almost too late ; for by that time he had reach'd the place, the Active *Agésilauſ* had poſted himſelf in all the moſt important places of the Country, and had loaded himſelf with the Spoils of it. The *Aſians* were much ſtronger in Horſe, and therefore the wary *Spartans* declin'd all opportunities of engaging in open Campaign, and made choice of places, the difficulty of which rendred the Enemies Horſe of little or no advantage to them ; by which policy he always remain'd abſolute Conqueror in *Aſia*, tho much inferior in Power ; ballancing the inequality of Number with the Excellency of his Conduct.

But whilſt he was conſulting to extend his Victories into the very bowels of *Persia*, and to make the *Sultan* himſelf ſenſible of the heavy ſtroke of his Arms, he receives an Expreſs from the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, commanding his ſpeedy return thither ; the *Athenians* and *Bæotians* having denounced open War againſt that State. And here we have a fair opportunity of diſcovering the excellent Piety as well as Fortitude of *Agésilauſ*, who when he was at the Head of a Victorious Army, and might in deſpight of the World have put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole Empire of *Persia*, did yet notwithstanding

withstanding so advantageous a prospect, submit to the Commands of the absent Magistrates with so much readiness and condescension, as if he had wore the character of a private Commoner in *Sparta*, rather than of so great a Prince. A rare example, worthy of the best of Emperors! *Agesslaus*, the Incomparable *Agesslaus*! to the scorn and Contempt of the Ambitious World, chuses rather to be Master of a good Reputation, than of the most flourishing Empire; rather to Command the Affections of his Country, than to be Lord of *Asia*. Accordingly he is resolv'd, and in pursuance of this so generous a resolution, uses such Expedition, that he passes the *Hellespont* with his whole Army in thirty days, which *Xerxes* could not accomplish under a whole year. But when he came near to *Poloponnese*; he found his way block'd up at [f] *Coronea* by the *Arbians*, *Beotians*, [g] and their Confederates, who had posted themselves there to impede him in his passage: But in vain did they contend against him who had Fortune at his Command; for at the first encounter he gave them a total rout. The Victory was great, but yet the praise of it was further enhanced by his Religious Clemency; for when some of the Enemy escap'd from the Battel, had

had taken sanctuary in (*b*) *Minerva's* Temple, and he was ask'd, what he would be pleas'd to determine concerning them, he strictly forbid any violence to be offer'd to them ; tho he might justly have sacrific'd them as proper Victims to his deep Resentments, and to that Noble blood which he Himself had expended in the Quarrel, having receiv'd some considerable wounds in the Fight. But his Religious respect towards the Sacred Temples did not only evidence it self in *Greece*, but in *Asia* too, where he express'd the like concern to preserve the Sacred Altar, and the Images of the Gods from violence and Prophanation ; and he was often observ'd to say ; "That in 'his opinion he was equally Sacrilegious 'who offer'd violence to the Altar or the 'Votary at the Altar, and that in effect 'he was the same Criminal who was an 'Enemy to the Sacred place, or the Religion of the place.

After this, *Corinth* was the chief Seat of Action, from whence this took the Denomination of the *Corinthian* War. Here albeit in one Engagement he had left 10000 of his Enemies breathless upon the ground, and had so far weakned the Enemies Forces that in all Mens opinion they were perfectly broken, and incapacitated ever to Rally again ; yet the

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Generous

Generous *Agésilas*, no less a Master of himself than the Enemy, was so far from entertaining himself with any Insolent Conceits of his own Atchievements, that with a noble Compassion he deplored the unhappy State of *Greece*, which through its own divisions should lose the Lives of so many brave Men; whose Valour, if it had been plac'd on a right level, and directed accordingly, would inevitably have prov'd the Ruin of *Persia*. After this, having pent up the Enemy within the Walls of *Corinth*, he was advis'd to lay close Siege to that place; but Generously reply'd, 'That it was beneath the Prudence of his Conduct so to do; for altho' he knew very well how to reduce a Criminal to a sense of his Duty, yet he did not think the Cities of *Greece* proper objects of his Valour; for whilst *Greece* fought against *Greece*, and destroy'd its own Members, whose concern against the Common Enemy the *Barbarian*, was one and the same, every Member, which by this means was Rent, and Torn off, was lost to the whole body, whose Strength was thereby impair'd, and it Incapacitated to Resist the Attempts of the Enemy, who would improve the Advantage of their Divisions to their Confusion.

In the mean time happen'd that unfortunate

nate Battel at *Leuctra*, fatal to the *Lacedæmonians*, whither *Agésilauſ* as if he had been Conſcious of the Event, could not by any Art be perſwaded to go; but afterwards, when *Epaminondas* had Inveſted the City *Sparta*(i) it being at that time naked, and not defended with any Wall; *Agésilauſ* behav'd himſelf with ſo much Gallantry and Reſolution, that in all Mens opinion, if *Sparta* had wanted her *Agésilauſ*, ſhe had not long been *Sparta*. One remarkable inſtance there was, wherein his expedite and ſeaſonable Counſel diſcover'd it ſelf to the advantage of all. For when ſome raſh young Men, terrified with the report of the *Thebans* approach, had taken up a Reſolution to paſs over to them, and in order thereto had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Poſt without the City, *Agésilauſ* foreſeeing the ill conſequence and example of it, if any of his Men ſhould be known to go over to the Enemy, ' He ' cunningly joyns himſelf with them, com-
' mends their choice of that place where
' they were Poſted, and tells them, that
' he himſelf had deſign'd the ſame before,
' and therefore that he would be their Lea-
' der, and the Companion of their For-
' tunes. They, caught with this Strata-
gem, preſently return'd to their Allegi-
ance, and having ſome of *Agésilauſ* his

Followers joyn'd with them, lay aside all thoughts of Surrendring the place; for their numbers being augmented with Men of good Experience and Conduct, they durst not embrace any Treacherous design, and desisted the more willingly because they thought that their Treason was not yet discover'd.

After the Battel of *Leuctra*, *Sparta* could never recover it self, or regain its pristine Majesty and power, yet *Agessilaus* bravely bore up under all Fortunes, and never wanted a helping-hand to Sublevate the sinking State. Particularly, when the *Lacedæmonians* were one time in great want for Money, he by Protecting those who had been defective in their Duty, and had incurr'd the censure of the Laws, obtain'd great sums of Money from them, all which he frankly bestow'd upon the Public. And this was more signally remarkable in him, that of all the Rich Presents which were given him By Kings, Noble Persons or Cities which he had oblig'd, he never converted any to his own private use; neither did he ever deviate from the laudable Frugality and Thrift of the *Spartans*; his Diet was homely, his Apparel plain, his Lodging not adorn'd with the novel Bravery of the Times, but the same with that of *Eurysthenes* the Founder of his Family;
into

into which, if you should enter, you would find no provision for Lust, none for Luxury ; but Patience was the Ornament of it, Abstinence its best Furniture ; with these it abounded, but in other things it was not distinguished from the House of a poor Man or private Person.

But Nature was not more indulgent to this Great Person in bestowing upon him so many Excellent Qualities of Mind, than She was niggardly in dispensing the Graces of his Body ; for he was low of Stature, and lame of one Foot ; which latter defect made him appear something deform'd ; and strangers that beheld his face and the outward frame of his Body, slighted and contemned him ; but those that were acquainted with the inward Accomplishments of his Mind, could never admire him enough. According to his former custom, when he was eighty years old, and was come into Egypt as Auxiliary to (*k*) *Thacus*, he lay down to sleep upon the shore amongst his Followers, without any Roof above him but that of Heaven, or Bed under him but Earth, which he cover'd with Straw, a Beasts Skin being his Coverlet. In the same manner lay all his Companions round him, in mean, and very contemptible Habit, and which was so far from signifying the Person of a King to be

amongst them, that it rather gave cause to suspect him to be some despicable mean Person. When the noise of his coming was bruited abroad, and had reach'd the Ears of the *Persian*, Messengers with Presents were instantly sent to him; tho when they came and enquir'd, which was *Agésilau*, they could scarce be induc'd to believe that he was one of those that lay down in that neglected manner. But when after their Complements made, they had tender'd their Presents to him, he only made choice of some Veal-flesh, and other Victuals for present use, and had distributed amongst his Servants the sweet Oyntments, the Coronets, with the more curious fare, and reserved nothing for himself, but sent back all the rest again. The *Barbarians* then look'd upon him with greater contempt then before, imputing it to his ignorance, that he made choice of those less valuable things. Afterwards when he left *Egypt*, he was Presented by King (1) *Nectanabes* with 220 Talents, all which he liberally distributed amongst his Followers the *Lacedæmonians*; coming from thence into a Haven betwixt *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, commonly known by the name of [m] *Menelaus* his Haven, he unhappily fell sick of a fatal Disease, of which he [n] dy'd. His Friends, in order to convey his dead Body, in defect of

of Honey, anointed it with Wax, and carried it home to *Sparta*.

[a] *The greatest part of the executive Power was devolv'd upon the Ephori, only the Power of Peace and War, and imposing of Ceremonies in Religion, remaining in the King, Ari Pol. l. 3. c. 10.* [b] *For Leotychides was suppos'd to be bastard to Alcibiades, who when Agis was absent in the Wars. was observ'd to entertain too secret a Correspondence with the Queen Timea, which being made known to Agis, he look'd upon her Issue as spurious. Plutarch vit. Alcib Atheneus.* [c] *At that time King of Persia.* [d] *Front l. 1. c. 8. speaking of this Expedition, instead of Phrygia reads Lydia, but the mistake is not great; for Phrygia, which is a Province in Asia Minor, has Caria, Lydia, Mysia and Bithynia bordering so nearly upon it, that as Strabo says, they are not easily distinguished, but are often promiscuously taken one for another.* [e] *The Royal City of Lydia, Hor. Ep. 11. lib. 1. Quid concinna Samos? quid Cresi Regia Sardis?* [f] *A City in Bæotia.* [g] *The Thebans Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Eubeans, and Locrians, as Xenophon gives the account.* [h] *which was at Itoma, a City in Thessaly, so call-*

ἐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίης πόλεως ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἰωνία Ἀδρια
says Stephanus from Iton. [i] Thucy-
dides in his Proem says, that the Cities of
Greece had no walls, but afterwards the
Spartan Tyrants, distrusting the strength of
their Arms, encompass'd Sparta with a
strong Wall. Justin. lib. 14. [k] Thacus
having been constituted by the King of Per-
sia chief Commander of all his Forces in
Egypt, had treacherously caused Egypt and
the Forces under his Command to revolt
from the Persian, and made himself King,
which gave occasion to the World to re-
prehend Agesilaus for this action, it being
thought unworthy of so great a Man, and a
Grecian too, for lucre sake to give assistance
to so base a Rebel. Plutarch. [l] Diodorus
affirms this King Nectanabes to be Tachus
himself, who thus rewarded him for confirm-
ing him in his Kingdom; but Plutarch will
have him to be Cousin to Tachus, who be-
ing during these Commotions declared King,
was grateful to Agesilaus for the good service
he had done him. [m] Strabo mentions this
Port of Menelaus, so called from Menelaus
the Grecian, who coming into Ethiopia,
and from thence Sailing into Africa, came
to Land with his Ships in the Coasts about
Ardania, which from thence forwards took
his name. [n] After he had liv'd 84 years,
and reigned 41. Plutarch.

THE
LIFE
OF
EUMENES.

Done into *English* by Mr. Ch. Allestree,
M. A. of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon.

EUMENES was a Native of *Cardia*; and so eminent for Personal Courage, that had his Fortune or Success been in any degree equal to it, he had not, 'tis true, been really Greater than he was (because we measure the Greatness of an Hero by his inward Virtue, and not by any outward circum-

circumstances of Fortune) but still he had been more Honourable and Illustrious, and Fame had rendred him more considerable in the Eye of the World. It was his unhappiness to be born in an Age wherein the *Macedonians* flourished, and were at that height of Renown, as to eclipse his Merit ; neither was it any small matter of Reproach and Detraction to him (who liv'd constantly amongst them) to be ignominiously upbraided with the Appellation of a Forreigner, and a Man descended of a mean Stock ; and yet he Himself was the Chief of the Family he sprung from. So that, upon these reasons, they envi'd him the Glory of Precedence ; and yet were forc'd to be content and submit to it: For he surpass'd them all, in the Qualifications of a States-man, in Care, Industry, and Patience, in Subtily of Contrivance, and Quickness of Invention. These Endowments recommended him early to the Acquaintance of King *Philip* ; which in a very short time he improv'd into a most intimate Familiarity and Friendship; for as young as he was, there appear'd such a Genius, and Generous Spirit, as promis'd much future Greatness. So that the King constituted him his Secretary ; which is an Employment of greater Reputation
and

and Honour amongst the *Grecians*, than it is with the *Romans*; for we justly esteem Persons of that character, as they really are, to be only Mercenary Scribes, and employed for gain. But, on the contrary, no Man was ever in *Greece* advanced to the Dignity of that Station, but such as were born of honest Parents, were of approved Integrity, and had abilities fit for the Service; and the reason is, because their Office gives them Access to Princes, makes them necessarily acquainted with great Intreagues, and the secret Measures and Resolutions of all their Councils. He enjoyed this Honour, and place in his Affection, during the last seven years of King *Philips* Reign, and (after his Death) was continued in the same Character under *Alexander* the Great, for thirteen more; and at last was preferred to Command that Wing of the Horse which was call'd the *SOCIAL WING*, from the Confederacy of the Allies that constituted it. In short, he was Privy-Councillor to both these Princes, and entrusted with the sole management of their Business, and all matters of Importance.

When *Alexander* was dead at *Babylon*, his Provinces came to be distributed equally to the several Officers who enjoy'd his Favour; it was *Perdiccas's* Fortune
(since

(since *Craterus* and *Antipater*, tho more in esteem with *Alexander*, were absent at this Delegation; and *Hæphæstion*, whom *Alexander* lov'd as passionately as himself, was dead also) to have the Command or Superintendency of the Whole lodged in his hands; and this was conjectur'd by the Ring that *Alexander* (when he lay speechless) took from his Finger and gave, as a peculiar instance of his kindness: intimating by this Pledg, that he nominated him Protector of the Empire, and entrusted the Government of his Dominions to his Conduct, whilst his Children were in their Minority, and remain'd under his Guardianship. In this Distribution of Provinces, the Government of *Cappadocia* fell to *Eumenes's* share, or rather was Assign'd to him; and the Title only of Lieutenant conferr'd upon him, the Country at that time being actually in possession of the Enemy. It was the policy of *Perdiccas* to make this Man his Friend, and gain him to his interest, which he endeavour'd to accomplish by all the endearments imaginable, because he knew him industrious in the Employment of War, and unalterably true to the Principle of his first Engagement; presuming with much reason and confidence, that if he could move him to
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espouse his cause, his service would be more than ordinarily instrumental to bring about those great affairs which he had then in hand ; for he intended (that which almost all Men in Empire propose to themselves) an Universal Monarchy, and to grasp all Power in his hands. Neither was he single and alone in this design upon the Sovereignty of the World ; for the same lust of Power equally spread it self, and run throw all the Governors of *Alexander's* Provinces ; and accordingly we find *Leonatus* affecting the Command of *Macedonia*, and Attempting to invest himself in the Government of that Province ; and in order thereunto, plying *Eumenes* with the bait of Preferment, and proposals of Honour to desert *Perdiccas*, and make a strict League and Alliance with him ; and when his Arguments and Promises were ineffectual to corrupt his Honesty, or seduce him from the Friendship he bore *Perdiccas*, he treacherously sought his Death, and had certainly accomplish'd it, but that *Eumenes* privately made his escape by night, and so avoided the danger.

In the mean time, whilst these ambitious Designs were forming, there seem'd to be laid the Foundation of those ensuing Wars, which (after *Alexanders* Death)

Death) rag'd even to the Excision of the several Parties in the Contest ; and all of them (as one Man) join'd themselves in a Confederacy, to suppress *Perdiccas*, and prevent his growing Greatness. Now, tho *Eumenes* was sensible of the danger of his Friend, and knew that he was unable to stem the Tyde, or with his single Forces over-power that formidable and united Body of Men, that were rais'd against him, yet he would not desert him in extremity, but was more mindful of his Honour, than the consideration of his own safety ; *Perdiccas* had put him in a place of Trust, and constituted him Governor of that part of *Asia*, which lies betwixt Mount *Taurus* and the *Hellepont*, and fixt him commodiously at that Post, for the conveniency of stopping the *Europæans*, and keeping them from falling in upon the Rear, whilst he in the mean time undertook an Expedition into *Egypt*, and design'd to encounter *Ptolemy*. And yet *Eumenes* was left in no good condition to Fight, for the Troops he had with him were not considerable either for Number or Courage, being for the most part raw, and unexperienc'd, ignorant of all Discipline, and rais'd hastily from the Refuse of the People ; so that when *Craterus* and *Antipater* (Men of Renown and

and Terror in the Art of War) were said to have pass'd the *Hellefpoat*, and advancing towards him with an Army of old *Macedonian* Soldiers (where by the way I must tell you, that these *Macedonian* Soldiers were thought as terrible in the Trade of War, as the *Romans* are now with us ; for those are ever counted the best Soldiers, that are levy'd from that Country which is the Seat of the Empire) *Eumenes* was confident, that if his Men should know the Power and Strength of the Enemy , and against whom they were drawn out to Fight, they would be so far from going chearfully upon the Expedition, that they would drop down dead with the news ; It was his care therefore to preserve them in ignorance of his design, and to lead them through unknown and by-roads, where no certain or authentick Intelligence could possibly come to disabuse them ; and to bear them in hand , that their Arms were to be employ'd against the *Barbarians*, to revenge the insolence of a sort of People , that had offer'd Affronts and acts of Hostility to their Country : acting therefore by these measures of secresy, he had Marshall'd and dispos'd his Army in the best Array in the World for the Engagement ; and had quite ended the Battel, before ever the Soldiers knew

knew their Adversaries, or against whom they drew their Swords ; and yet it is to be confess'd, that this overthrow is to be ascribed to another reason, viz. to the advantageous choice he made of the ground, wherein his Horse alone (which was the strength of his Army) might bear the Onset and Attacque of the Enemy; and He not obliged to expose his Infantry to the Shock, which was very inconsiderable.

In this smart Conflict, which lasted almost till night, *Craterus* the General, and *Neoptolemus*, who had the second place of Command in the Field, were both slain : *Eumenes* engaged Personally in the Fight with *Neoptolemus*; and so violent was their hatred and animosity to each other, that when their Grapling had dislodg'd the Riders from their Horses, and thrown them both to the Ground, they could not be disengag'd from their hold, or parted by any thing but the death of one of the Combatants, so thar they seem to have bore an internal malice, and to have wag'd War principally in their Minds, and made their Bodies only seconds and Instruments in the Quarrel. In this Conflict *Eumenes* receiv'd some small wounds, but they were not so dangerous as to induce him, for his Cure, to sound a Retreat,

treat and leave the Field, but rather animated him to a fresh Pursuit, and a more vigorous Slaughter of the Enemy. So that when he had entirely routed the Horse, slain *Craterus*, and taken a vast number of Prisoners (of the best Rank and Quality in the Army) the Foot seeing themselves destitute of Succour, and lodg'd in such narrow places, where 'twas impossible for them to make their escape with safety, surrender'd themselves upon Discretion, and pray'd for Quarter. They no sooner obtain'd this Grant of their Lives from *Eumenes*, but treacherously, upon the first opportunity broke their Faith, and (contrary to the Engagement of Captives) revolted with as much speed as they were able to the Enemies Camp, and took part with *Antipater*. However *Eumenes* generously labour'd to recover *Craterus* from his Wounds, who was brought from the Field with some faint breathings and signs of Life, to his Tent; and when he saw that 'twas impossible for Art to cure him, out of deference to the Character he bore, and to the Friendship that was once betwixt them (for they were intimate companions in *Alexander's* Lifetime), he celebrated his Obsequies with great Pomp, and sent his Ashes to his Wife and Children into *Macedon*.

Whilst these great Actions were Achiev'd about the *Hellespont*, *Perdiccas* was treacherously kill'd in an Engagement upon the River *Nile*, by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*; so that the whole Administration of Affairs devolv'd upon *Antipater*. Here those who had deserted the Army, by a Council of War were proclaim'd Traitors, and (tho absent) condemn'd to lose their Heads. Amongst the number of those who lay under this hard Sentence, *Eumenes* was chief: who was really disturb'd at the Injustice of his Fate, but not to that degree as to make him despond, or desist from the prosecution of the War: And yet this Proscription, tho it might seem insignificant to affect a Man that was really in Arms; yet it had this effect, as to rebate the Greatness of that Courage which it was unable utterly to overthrow. *Antigonus*, (who was provided with good store both of Ammunition and Men) in pursuance to this Decree follow'd *Eumenes* in the Rear, and gave some disturbances to his Troops by small Skirmishes on the Road; but was never able to force him to a pitcht Battel, only in such narrow places, where a small Party was sufficient to engage the Front of his whole Army. And yet at last, when he was not to be undermin'd by Policy

or

or Prudence, he was supplanted and almost ruin'd by the Treachery of a Multitude ; but yet, even here he extricated himself out of this difficulty: and, with the loss of some of his Men, retir'd safe to a Citadel in *Phrygia*, call'd *Nora* ; wherein he was so close besieg'd by *Antigonus*, and abridg'd of room to Air his Horses in, that he fear'd their disuétude from Exercise would speedily breed a Murrain, and cause a destruction amongst them ; so that to prevent this inconvenience, he made use of an expedient, whereby they might in the same Stall procure a better Appetite to their Fodder, and yet not want the benefit of Riding. He devis'd this way ; and ty'd their Heads so high to the Rack with Halters, that they could by no means touch the Earth with their forefeet ; and then his Grooms, with the Discipline of the Whip, laying on behind, oblig'd them to leap and kick backwards, to revenge the stroke. This motion, or agitation of Body, caus'd as much Sweating as if they had been actually Breath'd in a Course. So that (what was the most wonderful thing of all) by this Management the Horses were brought from the Castle, after many Months Siege, as clean and in as good liking as if they had been air'd every day in the Fields. When he was thus block'd up, as

oft as he thought convenient, he made Incursions into the Enemy's Camp, and either burnt or demolish'd the Fortifications and Entrenchments of *Antigonus*; but still he kept himself close in his Garrison during the Winter season, because he could not in the Field have the advantage of a Castle for his defence and shelter; but as soon as the Spring approacht, under the pretence of yeilding the place, and making Conditions of Peace, he impos'd upon *Antigonus's* Officers (who had the management of the Treaty) and deliver'd himself and his Soldiers both from the straitness and danger of the Siege.

To him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, made her application, and address'd from *Epirus* (where she then dwelt) Letters to him into *Asia*, to importune his Aid, and desire his Assistance to recover *Macedon*, and invest her in the possession of that Empire. *Eumenes*, in his Answer, advis'd her to desist from her Pretensions, or at least to wait the time, when the Son of *Alexander* should assume the Government; but if her Ambition should hurry her, against this Advice, to invade *Macedon*, by all means she ought to forget old Injuries, and not exercise any acts of Cruelty against her Subjects. She follow'd none of his Counsel; for she did go into *Macedonia*, and Reign'd there

there with all the Tyranny and Barbarity imaginable; so that her Government becoming generally odious, she was forc'd to write again to *Eumenes*, and beseech him not to suffer the inveterate Enemies of Her House to extirpate the very Race and Memory of *Philip*; but to bring speedy Relief to the poor Remains and Posterity of *Alexander*; which Request of her's, if it were so reasonable as to be clos'd with, she further entreated him, to raise what Forces he could, and bring to her Assistance; and that he might the more readily comply with this motion, for his encouragement she had already oblig'd all her Officers (who had not yet shok off their Allegiance) to obey him, and submit themselves to be regulated by his Orders. *Eumenes* was so exalted with the Honour of his Employment, and the Greatness of the Character he was put into, that he chose rather to embrace Death (if the Gods would have it so) in a generous Return of Service to his great Benefactor, than to live ignominiously, and with security, under the Brand and appellation of Ingratitude.

Accordingly he makes a new levy of Men, and prepares himself for a War against *Antigon*; Now there were at that time several of the *Macedonian* Nobility with him, amongst them *Perseus*, who

was of the Bed-Chamber to *Alexander*; and had the Government of *Persia* conferr'd upon him; and *Antigonus*, who Commanded the *Macedonian* *Phalanx*; *Eumenes* thought it was impossible to decline envy, or prevent disgust, if He, who was a Stranger, should arrogate the Command, and prefer himself to be General in the Army, when there was so vast a concourse and appearance of *Macedonian* Noblemen with him; and yet being unwilling to be laid aside from the Employment, he takes a middle way to avoid the danger; he erects a Pavilion in the Camp, and calls it by the name of *Alexander's* Tent; and there orders all the Royal Furniture of a Golden Throne, a Scepter, and a Diadem, to be plac'd, where the Officers met constantly to treat of public Affairs, and the negotiation of War; being of opinion, that by this means he should not be oppress'd with envy, if under the pretence and umbrage of *Alexander's* name, he carry'd on the War, which point he accomplished according to his design: for when the principal Officers met and concerted the measures seemingly at the Royal Pavilion, and not at *Eumenes* his Tent, his Superiority in a manner was conceal'd, and yet in effect he manag'd the whole Business of the Consult.

When

When the point of Precedency was in this manner accomodated, *Eumenes* met *Antigonus*, and had an encounter with him in *Parætacis*: not in a formal pitch Battel, where the whole Army was engaged, but in small skirmishes by Parties-where *Antigonus* was constantly worsted,, and obliged to retire to his Winter-quarters in *Media*: He in the mean time lodg'd his Forces in the Country of *Persia*, not as if he had chose the place for any advantage to himself, but the obstinacy of his Souldiers obliged him to it; for that Wing of his Army (with which *Alexander* overrun *Asia*, and Conquered *Persia*) were so insolent with the sense of their former Victories, and the Glory they Atchiev'd there, that they thought it their Business to Command and not Follow their Leaders. Which really is the true character of our *Veteranes*: and there is this danger in employing either of them, for fear their unruliness and untractable Spirit should have this effect of destroying all before 'em, and their pride turn as prejudicial to their own Party, as their Valour is fatal to the Enemy; and if any one will take the pains to examine and compare the Actions of both, he must necessarily find a great party and resemblance betwixt them, and no other difference but in point of time. But to return from this

digression ; *Eumenes* Quarter'd his Men in Posts, not convenient for the Business of War, but accomodate to the Luxury of his Souldiers, and for this end they lay scatter'd in the Country, in no order at all, but at a great distance from each other. *Antigonus* was sensible of the disorder they were in, and withall conscious of his inability to attack them with success, if they were form'd into a Body, or put in a posture to receive him, and therefore chang'd his measures of assaunting them openly, and upon warning took new resolutions of doing it by surprise. There were two ways leading from his Winter-Quarters in *Media*, to his Enemies Camp on the other side, the one of em was short, exactly in a line, and lay cross the Country, where there was nothing but Desart and uninhabitable places, by reason of draught, and the penury of water, and was only ten easy daies journey at the most; The other, which was the more beaten Tract, went round about in a circumference, and was much the longer passage, but still had all the conveniences and accommodations of Travel. He foresaw, that if he undertook to pass in the more publick Road, the Enemy must necessarily be upon their Guard, and have intelligence of his March, before he had accomplish'd the
third

third part of his journey ; but if he moved with his Army, in a straight line, thro the Defart part of the Country, he might have hopes to oppress 'em unawares, and unprovided for his coming ; upon this resolution, he ordered several Pitchers and Vessels of water to be prepared, and a great deal of Provinder to be in readiness, to supply the defect of the Country ; and then took care for his Souldiers, that there should be Bread and Victuals enough bak'd, to serve for ten daies ; and this he did, because he would not be put to the necessity of making fires upon every occasion of Eating, for fear the Enemy should discover his approach at a distance, and he should have the secret of his journey betray'd.

In this Equipage, he sets forward, and begins the Campaign ; who notwithstanding this care, had not travell'd above half the way, but from the smoak in his Tents, and the dust which his Army rais'd, *Eumenes* had great reason to suspect that the Enemy was nigh. A Council of War is therefore presently call'd, to consult what was fitting to be done in this Exigence : It was the Judgement of most that were present, that their Troops could not be imbodyed or collected, so soon as *Antigonus*, with the swiftness of his March, would be upon them ;

them; at this debate (when almost the whole Council were at a loss, and despair'd of any Expedient of safety) *Eumenes* assured the Board, *That if they would use Diligence and obey Orders, which hitherto they absolutely refus'd, he would even yet bring things to a happy Issue; for whereas the Enemy might easily approach them in five daies time, he would order matters so, that he should be retarded full as long, and be put back ten; wherefore, saies he, let every Officer go his Round, and collect the Souldiers that belong to his Company, and that lye scatter'd and dispers'd at large in the Country: Now this was the project that he us'd, to put a stop to Antigonus his motion, and divert his course; He Commanded a Party of Men to lodge themselves at the foot of the Mountains, where the Enemy was to pass, and at the beginning of the Night, to make large fires, and extend them very wide in the Front, but to diminish the number, and make them less in the second Row, and so proportionably to render them more considerably small in the third and hindmost Flank, that so, by this resemblance and shew of a Camp, the Enemy might be induc'd to think his design was discover'd, that they were alarm'd at his approach, and moved their Tents, in order to meet him in*

the

the Road and give him Battel in the Desert; This task the Officers were to renew every night; who according to their instructions perform'd their charge; *Antigonus* by this piece of subtilty was deluded; who, as soon as it was dark, observ'd the fires, and fell into a Belief, that these were really the Tents of his Enemies, and that the whole Army was Rendezvous'd and Encamp'd there to Fight them; so that he chang'd his resolution, and since he saw himself defeated of his design, and could not possibly surprize them in disorder, he turn'd his Course, and took the longer passage, which lay round about the Hills in a fruitful Soil, and tarry'd a day or two in the Country, to ease and refresh his Souldiers (that were tyr'd with the Fatigue) and to give rest to his Horses; that after such a Respit and Recruit, both Man and Beast might be in a better condition to oppose the Enemy, and more vigorously maintain the Fight. By this stratagem *Eumenes* overreach't the policy of the General, and prevented the suddainness of his Attaque, and yet it was without any real advantage to himself in the end; for such was the envy of his Officers that maligned his Glory, and so great was the perfidiousness of the *Veterane* Souldiers,

Souldiers, that tho' in a brave Engage-
ment (when they had put things to a
push) they returned Conqueror from
the Field, and gain'd signal Trophies
of Victory, yet they deliver'd their
General Prisoner, and in Chains to
Antigonus; and this Treachery they
acted, after they had twice Religiously
sworn to defend him with their Lives
and Fortunes, and never to desert his
Cause; but so predominant was their
envy above the consideration of their
Oaths, or the obligation of their Fidelity,
that they chose rather to violate their
Faith, than not turn Instruments
of his Ruin and betray him. *Antigonus*
had certainly spar'd his Life (tho' he
was his most mortal and inveterate
Enemy in the World) if his Council
could have bin induc'd to have given
way to it; because he knew, that no
Man Living could be more serviceable
to him in the management of the
Business of War, which he had then in
hand, and saw a necessity of continuing
it; for both *Seleucus*, *Lyfimachus*, and
Ptolemy, (who were all Men of Power
and Strength) were ready to oppress his
Grandeur, and contend with him for
Sovereignty and the prize of Empire;
But those who were of *Antigonus* his
Council, would not suffer such a failure
in

in Politicks, as to be willing to have his Life preserv'd, whose promotion in a little time would certainly supplant their Esteem, and render them inconsiderable in the Army; and besides, *Antigonus* himself was so enrag'd against him, for the Outrages he had done, and the havock that was made in the Army, that there was no hopes of his reconciliation, or pacifying his Anger, unless he had an assurance of a full compensation by future Services in War.

When he was therefore committed to Custody, and the Governor of the Prison ask'd *Antigonus*, in what manner he would have him kept, *With the same care*, saies he, *as you would keep a wild Lyon, or the fiercest Elephant*, under the strictest Guard: For he had not yet determin'd with himself, whether he would preserve his Life or no; Now there came allsorts of People to visit *Eumenes* in his misfortune; some, out of hatred, to glut their eyes with the sight, and triumph over him in Affliction; Others, upon the account of Friendship, that formerly had bin betwixt them, went to comfort him in his Adversity, and pay their Complement of Condolence to him; but the greatest number came out of Curiosity to contemplate his form, and to know the shape and figure of the
Man,

Man, to be able to remember and talk to their Acquaintance that they had seen the person, whom so long and so justly they had stood in dread of, and in whose destruction all their hopes of Victory and Peace were placed. *Eumenes* (whose Spirit was troubled more at the impertinence of the Visits, than at the grief of his Confinement) told *Onomarchus*, one day in Company, when he had been long in Prison, *That he wondered he had been kept three days without Death or Release; that it was not suitable to the methods of Prudence to use a Captive so, but that Antigonus ought either to Execute him presently, or dismiss him safe, loaded with apprehensions of Gratitude to his Friends.* *Onomarchus*, startled at the boldness of this Discourse, *What?* says he, *If you have really this Courage and Bravery which you pretend, why did not you chuse rather to dye Honourably in the Field, than fall ignominiously into the hands of your Enemy? Oh! would to God,* says *Eumenes*, *this had been in my Power or choice; but this could not possibly be my Fate, for I never in all my lifetime had the Glory to encounter a braver Man than my self, and never contested the point of Valour with any Hero yet, but forced him to yield, and own me the Conqueror; and now tho I am basely in your*
Power

Power, yet my ignominy is to be ascribed to the Treachery of my friends, and not to the Prowess of my Adversary. Neither was any thing of this Discourse, tho it seem'd a Rant, false ; for he had both a Majesty in his presence, that struck an awe and terror into the Beholder, and such a Gigantick firmness in his Make and Limbs, as seem'd to be compos'd only for Work and Labour, and yet there was such a Symmetry and proportion of parts, as rendred him both August and Comely.

Antigonus durst not hastily and alone determine of this Mans Fate, but left his case to the Consideration and Wisdom of his Council : Here many of the Board stood astonish'd at the neglect of Justice, and wondred that Execution was not presently done upon an Enemy, who for many years had laid waste and ravaged their Country, slain the chief of their Commanders, and put such a Terror and Consternation amongst the Rest, that they had been brought even to extremity and despair ; and if the sense of these injuries is not sufficient to justifie or provoke his Ruin, yet let the danger of his Person weigh something towards his Death : As long as he is in being, there can be no security for our preservation, but we shall be constantly afraid, lest he should be violently released from his Prison

son to head a Mutiny or Sedition in the Camp; but at his Death these dangers cease, and there can be no apprehensions of Disturbance to be raised from his Ashes; but however, pursued they, if Antigonus was inclined to give him Life, they humbly entreated to know, how he would new model his Council, or where he would find Officers to have place there; For with Eumenes none of the old Commanders would either correspond, or join Interests, or be at the same Board together. Tho the Sentiments of the Council were in this manner made known, yet Antigonus takes seven days time to deliberate and pronounce his Doom; and then fearing an Insurrection might be caus'd by the delay of Execution, he orders his Warders to be remov'd, his daily sustenance to be withdrawn, and forbids all Mankind his presence (for still he would not offer violence to the Man, who once had been his Friend) that so he might perish with Famine, without involving others in the guilt of his Blood; and yet Eumenes after three days languishment with hunger, when his Spirits were impair'd and sunk, unknown and without order from Antigonus, was kill'd by his Keepers, to prevent the care of tending him, in following the Camp.

Thus Eumenes (who, as we told you before

before, at twenty years of Age, was receiv'd at Court with all possible demonstration of kindness, who for the space of seven years was a constant Favourite and Attendant to King *Philip*, and afterwards was admitted to the same place in *Alexanders* esteem, and enjoy'd it thirteen years more, to that degree, that in his time he was constituted Master of the Horse in the *SOCIAL ARMY*, who also, after his Death, was Commander in Chief of the whole Army, and either repelled the violence of his encroaching Competitors, or slew them in the Fight, maintaining the Boundaries and just Limits of their Power): thus I say, died this Great Commander, in the forty-fifth year of his Age, and fell a Victim to the Treachery of his Soldiers, rather than overcome by the Prowess of *Antigonus*. It is easy to judg what opinion the Officers (who stiled themselves Kings after *Alexanders* Death) had of this Mans Merit, and Valour, by this single instance of their Pride ; since, in his Life-time, they durst not assume that swelling Title, but were content with the Name and Appellation of *Præfects* ; but after his Fall, took the Honour of the Name, and all the outward Ornaments that belong to Sovereignty and a Crown'd Head ; neither did they perform

N what

what was the pretence and Ground of War, *The Office of Guardianship, or seek to preserve the Kingdoms for Alexanders Legitimate or Natural Issue*: But as soon as *Eumenes*, the only Defender and Af-ferter of their Cause, was gone, they shew'd themselves openly in their own colours, and that their design was principally to raise and aggrandise themselves. In this Conspiracy against *Eumenes*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander*, were chiefly concern'd, and passionately fought his Ruin; however *Antigonus* had this Honour in him, To give the Corps to be buried by his Relations. Who perform'd his Funeral-Rites in a Military Pomp, with the Attendance of the whole Army at his Hearse; and after this Ceremony was over, transmitted his Urn into *Cappadocia*, to be Religiously kept by his Wife and Children, and preserv'd there.

THE
LIFE
OF

PHOCION.

Done into *English* by Mr. Todd, Fellow
of *University Coll. Oxon.*

PHOCION the *Athenian*, tho
he was many times [*a*] Chief
Commander of the Forces of his
Country, and One who bore
the higest Offices in the City; yet is He
much more known for Integriety and A-
greeablrness of Life, than for any Mi-
litary Exploits. Hence 'tis, there is no

account of These upon Record; but very much said of his exact way of Living, and other popular Qualities, which gave him the Sirname of *The Beneficent* [b]. He was never Rich, tho the several Places of Honour and Profit, freely giverr him by the People, might have plentifully fill'd his Coffers. When King *Philip* [c] presented him with a vast sum of Money, and by his Ambassadors press'd Him earnestly to accept it; advising Him withal, *That, tho He for his own part, might easily dispence with the want of it; yet he ought to be concern'd for the good of his Children, to whom it might be difficult in a low Ebb of Fortune, to maintain the Greatness of their Fathers Character:* He generously refused the Present, and told them, *If my Children prove such as my self, then that small parcel of Ground will keep them, that has advanc'd me to this: But if they degenerate, I should be loth their Luxury should be supported or encouraged at my Provision.*

When he had enjoy'd a continu'd series of Prosperity, till very near the eightieth year of his Age; in his latter daies he grew extreamly out of favour with his Fellow-Citizens. 'Twas laid to his Charge, That he conspir'd with *Demades* to deliver up the City to *Antipater*: And by his Advice, *Demosthenes*,
and

and the rest, whom they now look'd upon as Persons that deserved well of the Commonwealth, were by Decree of the Common-Council Banish'd. Nor was Male-Administration his only Crime; they accused him for violating the common Obligations of Friendship: For whereas he had been advanc'd, to those Honours which he had, by the Eloquence and Interest of *Demosthenes*; and particularly when he took his part against *Cares*, [d] in a Capital Cause, had been defended by him, and clearly brought off in open Court; he did not only not defend *Demosthenes*; but, as was said, perfidiously betray'd him. But, the Crime that most of all caus'd his Ruin, was this; When the Government of the City was in his hands, and he had notice given by *Dercillus*, [e] that *Nicanor*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant General, had a design to surprize *Piræus*; and also was desir'd to take special care, that the City should not want Provision: He said publicly in the hearing of the People, That there was no danger at all; and promis'd them that He would engage his Life for their security. Not long after, *Nicanor* took *Piræus*: And, when the People rose in Arms to regain it (without the Possession of that Fort *Athens* cannot long subsist) he not only neglected to Summon the rest of the Citizens to

their Assistance, but refus'd to put himself in the head of those that were ready to make the Assault.

At that time, there were two Factions in *Athens*; One stood for the Liberties of the People, the Other (amongst whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalerus* [*f*]) asserted the Prerogatives of the Nobility: Both courted the Protection and Favour of the *Macedonians*; for the Chief of the Popular Party favour'd [*g*] *Polypercon*; the Nobles sided with *Cassander*. During these Heats, *Polypercon* drove *Cassander* out of *Macedonia*. By this Victory the People getting the upper hand, immediately condemn'd all the Heads of the opposite Faction, and banish'd them the City: Amongst whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalerus*. This done, they dispatch an Express to *Polypercon*, about the business, and desire him that he would confirm their [*b*] Decree: *Phocion* understanding this, went thither in Person; and as soon as he appear'd, order was given that he should plead his own Cause, in form indeed before King [*i*] *Philip*, but in effect before *Polypercon*, for He was at that time Protector of the Kingdom. One [*k*] *Agnonides* accus'd him, that he had betray'd *Piræus* to *Nicanor*, and thereupon by Order of Council

cil he was committed to a Messenger, and remanded to *Athens*, that he might be proceeded against according to the Laws of his own Countrey.

At his entrance into the City, (by reason of an Impediment in his feet, he being forc'd to be carried in a Coach) there was a great concourse of People to see him. Some, remembring the greatness of his former Renown, extreemly pitied his old Age: many were highly exasperated against him, upon suspicion of Treason about the business of the Fort; but that which enraged them most was, that now in his latter days, he should so much oppose the Liberties of the People. When he came to the Bar, they would not give him leave to plead his own Cause, but after a slight formality of Justice, publickly condemn'd him, and delivered him to the *Eleven*, to whom according to the custom of the *Athenians*, the publick Execution of Traitors does belong. As he was drawn to the place of [1] Execution, one *Emphyletus*, formerly an intimate Acquaintance, meets him, and with tears in his eyes cry'd out: O Phocion! *how Unjust and unworthy are these punishments thou endurest? They may be unjust*, reply'd the Prisoner, *but they are not in the least unexpected, for very many Eminent Atheni-*

ans have gone this way to their Deaths.
The Odium of the Mobile was so violent,
that no Freeman durst bury him;
therefore his Body was interred by
Slaves. [m]

[a] Forty-five times, says Plutarch,
before ever he was free of the City. He
was the darling of the People, while out of
favour with the Government. [b] The
Greek name is *Χρῆσις* (*Χρῆσιμος* Hesyech.)
which was conferred upon him, says Suid.
κοινῇ ὑπὸ τὸ Ἑλληνιστῆ in a Common Hall,
nemine contadicente, because he relieved
many indigent Citizens, and contributed to
provide for their Children. [c] Plutarch
says, it was his Son Alexander that sent his
Gift, as a Reward for the good service he
had done him, in keeping Athens true to his
Interest while he was upon his Asian Expe-
dition. The sum was 100 Talents, about
8000 pound English. [d] An Atheni-
an Captain, who went to assist the Byzan-
tines against King Philip; but managing
Affairs imprudently, he was called home,
and Phocion sent in his Place. [e] Who
defended Athens on the Land side, ἐπὶ τῇ
Χαίρης στρατηγός. Plut. [f] A famous Atheni-
an General, who persuaded Ptolemy King
of

of Egypt to have the Holy Bible translated out of Hebrew into Greek, by the LXXII. Jos. Ant. Lib. 12. c. 2. [g] The one General (στρατηγος) and the other a Captain (χιλίαρχος) in Antipaters Army: Upon whose death they fell out betwixt themselves, and by their interest divided the Athenians [h] *Ἰνριγμα*, Plut. [i] Philippus Arridæus, an Effeminate, weak Prince. [k] A violent, bawling Lawyer, who run down Phocion with noise and clamour: and was afterwards, when the Athenians better understood themselves, condemned for his pains. [l] 'Twas on the nineteenth day of March, which was a Festival in honour of Jupiter, that the punishment might be more exemplary. [m] Plutarch says, that one Conopion, a Common Officer, burnt his body, and that an old Woman gathered up his bones and buried them with this Wish, O Athenians, When you return to your wits, give these Bones a more honourable Burial: It happened accordingly; for within a short time, finding their Error, in taking off so brave a Man, They reversed the sentence, solemnly interred his Body, Erected a Statue in Honour of Him at the publick cost; and condemned, or banished all that had any hand in his Accusation.

T H E

THE
LIFE
OF
TIMOLEON.

Done into *English* by Mr. Cary. M. A.
of St. Mary-Hall Oxon.

TIMOLEON, a *Corinthian* born, was without doubt, in the general esteem of the World, a very Eminent Man; for he had the happiness to which few or none could arrive, of freeing his Native Country from the oppression of a Tyrant, of redeeming the

the City of *Syracuse*, to whose assistance he was sent, from a long continued Bondage, and of restoring all *Sicily* to its former condition, which had been long harra's'd by War, and the inhumane usage of the [a] *Barbarians*. But in the managing of all those Affairs, he met with many different Adventures; and what is thought to be the hardest encounter of the two, he behav'd himself rather the more discreetly in his Prosperity, than in his Adversity. For when his Brother *Timophanes*, who was made General by the *Corinthians*, by the help of his Mercenary Souldiers had invaded the Sovereignty, and *Timoleon* might have had a share in the Royalty with him, He was so far from abetting any such peice of Villany, that he put a much greater value upon his Fellow Citizens Liberty, than he did upon his Brothers Life, and look'd upon himself infinitely more oblig'd to live in obedience to the Laws of his Country than to rule over it. Being a Man of these principles, he contriv'd to have his Brother the Tyrant Murther'd by a certain Soothsayer, and another who was related to 'em both, as having married their own Sister both by Father and Mother. In which Murther he was so far from having any hand, that he would not so much

much as look upon his Brothers blood shed. For while the thing was putting in Execution by them, he took a Post at a distance that none of his Life-guard might come to his Rescue. This notable Action of his, was not look'd upon by all with the same eyes, for some took it to be a breach of Piety, and by a Sinister interpretation represented the whole matter as unwarrantable. Nay, his Mother, after this, would never let him come within her Doors, nor as much as admit him into her presence, but out of detestation of the Fact, would brand him with the name of unnatural Assassine of his Prince and Brother. At the hearing of which words, he was so mightily concern'd, that he had sometimes thoughts of being his own Executioner, and by imbracing Death to abandon the sight of an ungrateful World.

In the mean while, after *Dion* was slain at *Syracuse*, *Dionysius* made himself again Master of the Town; But they of the contrary Party, Petition'd the *Corinthians* for succour, and desir'd a General over their Forces: In which Expedition, *Timoeon* was sent, and with wonderful success, beat *Dionysius* quite out of *Sicily*; yet spar'd his Life, when it was in his Power to have taken it away;

away ; and took particular care to see him safely convey'd to the City of *Corinth*, which had been frequently supported by the aid and assistance it receiv'd from both the *Dionysii*. Of which Favour *Timoleon* was willing to leave a Memorial ; esteeming that Conquest much more Honourable, which had in it more of Mercy than Cruelty. In a word, he sent him thither alive, that the World might not receive it by Tradition only, but be eye-witnesses, what a Personage he had reduc'd from so great an Empire to so mean a condition. After *Dionysius's* departure, *Timoleon* engaged in a fresh War with *Icetas*, who had acted contrary to *Dionysius's* interest, not so much out of dislike or hatred of his Tyranny, as out of private interest, as was plain from his unwillingness to quit his Command, when *Dionysius* was depos'd. *Icetas* being defeated, *Timoleon* routed a very formidable Army of the *Cartaginians* at the River *Crimeffus*, and oblig'd them to rest contented, if they might be permitted to live quietly in *Africk*, who for many years past had been in possession of *Sicily*. Besides all this, he took *Mamercus* an *Italian* Commander Prisoner; a very Warlike Man, and one of great interest, who had come over into *Sicily* to the Assistance of the Tyrants.

These

These things being happily Atchiev'd, and finding by a long continuance of War, that not only Countries, but Cities also were depopulated, he drew together all possible Recruits, first of the *Sicilians*, then of new Planters which he brought over from *Corinth*, because the City *Syracuse* was by them Originally Founded. To the old Inhabitants he restor'd their own ; he divid'd among those of the new Plantation, the Estates of such whose owners had been lost in the Wars; he repair'd the ruined Cities, and demolish'd Temples ; he Erected anew the several States upon their old Laws and Liberties, and after a most dreadful War, settled so great a Peace and Quiet through the whole Island, that he might rather be taken for the Founder of those Cities, than they who had at first Planted 'em. The Citadel of *Syracuse* which *Dionysius* had Fortifi'd, on purpose to block up the Town, he eras'd from the very Foundation, sleighted all other Bulwarks of Tyrannical Government, and did what in him lay, that as few marks of Bondage as could might remain. Having so great Power, as that he could have extorted obedience from them; and again being such a Favourite of all the *Sicilians*, that he might have come to the Crown, by a unanimous consent, he chose rather

rather to be Belov'd than Fear'd: Therefore as soon as conveniently he could, he laid down his Command, and pass'd the remaining part of his Life there, as a private Person. And this was not done unadvisedly; for he maintain'd that Grandeur and Authority through a mutual good will, which other Princes could never compass by force. Every Man paid him constantly a very Great respect; and no publick Business was ever after Transacted at *Syracuse*, of which any Decree was made, before *Timoleon's* sense of the matter was understood. No Mans Counsel was ever prefer'd before his, nor as much as stood in competition with it. And so to do was not more their Affection, than Wisdom.

When he was grown old, he lost his Eye-sight; which Affliction he bore with so much Patience, that he was never heard to complain of it, nor was yet less useful in private concerns or publick Affairs. For he came to the *Theater*, when the People met there in Counsel, drawn by a pair of Mules, by reason of his infirmities [*b*] and so from the Coach deliver'd his opinion concerning the matter in debate, which no Body look'd upon as a piece of pride in him; for never did any thing like Insolence or vain Glory come out of his mouth. If
at

at any time he had heard himself magnifi'd, he would only reply, That he did signally bless the Gods, and was bound upon that particular account to be alwayes thankful, for that, when the Gods were graciously pleas'd to raise *Syracuse*, they made choice of him as their unworthy Instrument. For he thought, that no humane actions were brought to perfection without an overruling Providence. And therefore he Erected a private Chappel in his house to Fortune, where he with much constancy and zeal paid his Devotions.

Besides this most excellent temper of his, several remarkable Accidents concurr'd to render him famous. For all his most memorable Battels happen'd to be fought upon the day on which he was born; so that it fell out, that all *Sicily* made their Anniversary Feasts on his Birth-day. When one *Laphystius*, an inconsiderable, sawcy, and ungrateful Fellow, requir'd stipulation of him for an appearance, under colour of an Action that he had against him; and the Multitude flocking together, endeavour'd forcibly to curb the pretenders insolence; *Timoleon* beseech'd 'em to desist; Alledging, That he had gone through great hardships, and extream dangers, chiefly upon the account, that *Laphystius* and others

others might enjoy their Liberty. For the true nature of Freedom is, that any one may try out whatever Cause he has by due course of Law. When another Fellow, much like *Laphystius*, *Demænetus* by name, in a harangue before all the People Assembled in Council, had detracted from the Glory of *Timoleon's* Actions, and had sharply inveigh'd against him, he made no other answer, but that he now found that his Prayers were heard; For he had ever made it his humble Request to the Gods, that the *Syracusians* might enjoy such a Liberty, whereby every one might be free to speak his Sentiments of whom he pleas'd. When he dy'd, he was interr'd at the publick charge of the *Syracusians* (in an Academy, which had its denomination from him) all finely attending his Funerals.

[a] *The Carthaginians.* [b] *He was Aged, Blind, and had the Gout.*

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
HAMILCAR.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Brideoke*, M. A.
of *Trin. Coll. Oxon.*

HAMILCAR, a *Carthaginian*, Sirnam'd *Barcas*, the Son of *Hannibal*, at the latter end of the first *Punic War*, tho then very young, was constituted *Generalissimo* of the Forces in *Sicily*. In which Employment he behav'd himself

himself so well, that (tho before his time the *Carthaginian* Army was always worsted both by Sea and Land) he still kept his Ground, and was so vigilant, that his Enemies could never find him unprovided; but on the contrary, when opportunity serv'd, would fall upon them, and always made himself Master of the Field. Moreover, when the *Carthaginians* by their ill success had very near lost all footing in *Sicily*, he so prudently defended the City *Eryx*, as not to leave the least sign of a War behind him. But in the interim, *C. Lutatius*, the then *Roman* Consul, having beaten the *Carthaginian* Fleet at the Islands *Agates*, the *Carthaginians*, resolv'd to conclude the War, and to that end made *Hamilcar* their Plenipotentiary. Who, tho naturally more inclin'd to War than Peace, yet in that juncture of Affairs, he preferred Peace; because his Country being then poor, could no longer endure the hardships and expences of War; yet he reserv'd this to himself, that as soon as the *Carthaginians* were a little refresh'd, again to renew the War, and by Arms oppose the *Romans*, until Fortune had determin'd the Conquest. With this resolution he concluded the peace; in the settling whereof, he was so stout, that when *Carulus* refused to sign

the Articles, unless he, with the whole Garrison of the City *Eryx*, would depart *Sicily* without their Arms; He bravely and sharply replied, that tho his Country being poor, could yield him no assistance yet he would rather dye, than return to his home with such Ignominy and Reproach. For it would not consist with his Valour, tamely to deliver up to his Enemies those Weapons which were committed to his Trust for the defence of his Country. Upon this his resolution *Catulus* complied.

But *Hamilcar*, so soon as he arrived at *Carthage*, found the Commonwealth in a condition worse than he expected. For by the long continuance of the Foreign War, Intestine discords were so much heightened, that *Carthage* was never in the like dangerous condition, unless when it was quite raz'd and demolish'd. For the Mercenary Soldiers, who were twenty thousand strong, and (who had formerly fought against the *Romans*) Revolting, drew all *Africa* to their Party, and likewise besieged *Carthage*. By which great misfortune the *Carthaginians* were so Terrified, that they sought for Aid and Protection from their greatest Enemies, the *Romans*, and obtained their Request. But in fine, when they were almost reduced to the
utmost

utmost extremities of misery and despair, they voted *Hamilcar* their General. Who not only made those Rebels, who were above twenty thousand, to raise their siege from before *Carthage*, but also forced them to that extremity, that shutting them up in places where they were void of all relief, more perish'd by Famine than were kill'd by the Sword. He brought back again the revolted Towns to their former Duty and Obedience; and amongst the rest, *Utica* and *Hippo*, the two wealthiest Cities of all *Africa*. Neither was he He satisfied with this; but he also enlarg'd the Empire, and all *Africa* was so settled, that none could imagine that there had been any War there for many years before.

These things being finish'd by him so successfully, out of a couragious and an exasperated mind against the *Romans*, and that He might more handsomely pick a Quarrel with them, he contriv'd that he himself should go Commander with an Army into *Spain*, taking along with him his young Son *Hannibal*, then but nine years old. With him march'd *Hasdrubal*, that Beautiful and brave Youth; whom some think to have been belov'd too much by *Hamilcar*, in a manner not allowed to his Sex: For great men seldom escape ill Mens ma i-

cious Tongues. And upon this account the Youth *Hasdrubal* was forbid by the Censor to attend the General. But *Hamilcar* giving his Daughter in Marriage to *Hasdrubal*, found out that way as the best expedient of enjoying the Youth's company; for their Laws did not forbid the Son-in-law to converse with his Father. I thought this passage worthy of my notice, because when *Hamilcar* was kill'd, he Commanded the Army, and was Successful in many remarkable Exploits; and during his Command, by large Gifts he so corrupted the ancient manners of the *Carthaginians*, that after his Death *Hannibal* receiv'd his Power from the Army.

Hamilcar, after he had cross'd the Sea, and entred *Spain*, with great success undertook vast designs; he subdued the most Warlike, and the wealthiest Countries; and furnished all *Africa* with Men and Horses, Arms and Money. But as he was designing a War on *Italy*, in the ninth year after his entrance into *Spain*, Fighting against the *Vettones*, He was unfortunately slain. His implacable hatred against his Enemies the *Romans*, was the chief cause of the second *Punick* War; for his Son *Hannibal* was so exasperated by the daily and repeated Conjurations

jurations of his Father, that he often declared, he had rather perish, than not try the Courage of the *Romans*.

THE

LIFE

OF

~~HAMILCHAR~~

THE

CATHOLIC

THE

SON OF HAMILCHAR.

THE 4th Edition by the Honorable
Mr. Leopold William Finch, Fellow
of All-South Coll. Oxon.

Still a Truth of undoubted
Certainty, That the
Romans did exceed all
other People in Poverty;
to the wife must be con-
fess'd, that Hamchar was
far above all other Commanders for
valour and Conduct, as the Ro-
mans were more
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HAMILCAR
injunctions of his Father, that he often
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try the Courage of the Roman.

THE
L I F E
O F
H A N N I B A L,
T H E
C A R T H A G I N I A N,
T H E
S o n o f H A M I L C A R.

Done into *English*, by the Honourable
Mr. *Leopold William Finch*, Fellow
of *All-Souls Coll. Oxon.*

AS 'tis a Truth of undoubted Certainty, That the *Romans* did exceed all other People in Bravery; so likewise must it be confessed, That *Hannibal* was as far above all other Commanders for his Wisdom and Conduct, as the *Roman* Valour was more eminent than

than that of all different Nations. For during the whole time that *Italy* was the Seat of his Action, Success continually waited on his Arms; in-
 somuch, that had not the Envy of his Enemies at home unfortunately hindred his progress abroad, He seems to have been sufficiently able to have made an absolute Conquest over the *Roman* Empire. But too numerous were his detracting Foes, to be Encounter'd by the Gallantry of a single Person. He so improv'd the Hatred that his Father bore the *Roman* Nation, and which was in a manner Hereditary to Him, that He would sooner have parted with his Life, than in the least have abated of his Aversion to that People. For tho he lay under the unhappy circumstances of a Banished Man, and consequently was obliged to Forreign Princes for their assistance, yet He never ceas'd (at least in his intention) to wage War with the *Romans*. Not to instance in King *Philip* (whom he render'd an Enemy to that Nation, tho he had not the advantage of Consulting with him in Person) He possess'd King *Antiochus*, a Prince of the greatest Strength and Power of those times, with so eager a desire of making War upon them, that he rais'd the whole Force of his Empire,

as

as far as the *Red Sea*, with a design to invade *Italy*. To this *Antiochus* it was that Embassadors were sent from *Rome*, to the intent they might inform themselves of his Resolutions, and use all possible endeavours, by underhand Policies, to bring *Hannibal* into suspicion with the King, by assuring Him, that (as if they had withdrawn him from his Fidelity) He now espous'd a quite different Interest than He had formerly served. They effected this with no small success, as *Hannibal* soon perceiv'd, when he found that He was turn'd out of the Privy Council; so that at a convenient time, He first waits on the King, and having put him in mind of his great Loyalty to him, and his Hatred to the *Roman* People, he added over and above, *When I was a Boy of about nine years of Age, my Father Hamilcar being upon his departure from Carthage, as General into Spain, offer'd up Sacrifice to the Great Jupiter; during which Solemnity, he asked me, whether I would bear him company to the Camp; which when I readily accepted of, and began to importune him, that he would not scruple to take me along with Him; I will (says he) grant your Request, provided you will take an Oath, which I shall propose to you; Upon which he led me to the Altar where*
he

be design'd to Sacrifice. And when (according to Custom) I had laid my Hands upon it; the rest of the company being at a distance, he commanded me to swear, That I would never be in Friendship with the Roman People. This Oath, which my Father then gave me, I have preserv'd so inviolably to this very day, as not to give any Man the least ground of suspecting, but that I shall be ever of the same Disposition. So that now if you entertain any thoughts of contracting any kind of Friendship with the Romans, 'twill be your wisest course to conceal it from my knowledge; but on the other hand, whenever you design a War with them, you will very much mistake your measures, if you do not principally commit the management of it to my hands.

It was at this Age he accompanied his Father into Spain, after whose Death Hasdrubal succeeding as General, the Command of the Cavalry was conferr'd upon Him; and Hasdrubal not long after being Murder'd, the Army unanimously chose Him in his place; an account of which no sooner reach'd Carthage, but was receiv'd with the public Approbation of the State. Thus Hannibal, not yet twenty-five years of Age, was actually General of all the Carthaginian forces, and within the space of three years after,

after subdued all the Countries of *Spain*; He took *Saguntum* (a City in Alliance with the *Romans*) by Storm. He rais'd three vast Armies; one of which he sent into *Afric*, another he left with his Brother *Hasdrubal* in *Spain*, and the third he Commanded in Person into *Italy*. He pass'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and all along as he march'd, having frequent Encounters with the Inhabitants, He Conquer'd all He Fought. Coming at last to those *Alps* which divide *Italy* from *Gallia*, the Inhabitants oppos'd his Passage, which He soon laid open by cutting them in pieces. He was the first Man that ever led an Army over these Mountains, except *Hercules* the *Grecian*, from whose passage they took their Name. Here *Hannibal* open d the Way, and fortified the Pass, making so great an alteration, that the Elephants, together with their Furniture, could march conveniently in that very place, where before a single Man, tho' unarm'd, could scarce creep along. From hence leading his Forces into *Italy*, he had an Encounter on the River *Rhone*, with *P. C. Scipio* the Consul, and put him to flight. He fought him likewise near the River *Po*, for the Town *Glastidium*, where *Scipio* himself was wounded, and his Army utterly routed. He had a third Battel with him and his
Colleague

Colleague *Tiberius Longus*, who advanc'd towards Him near the River *Trebia*, where he engaged them, and defeated them both. Marching at length through *Liguria*, he cross'd the *Appenine Hills*, intending for *Hetruria*. In this march he was extreamly afflicted with a distemper in his Eyes, to that degree, that he could never recover the perfect use of his right one again; But notwithstanding his indisposition was such that he was forc'd to be carried in a Litter, he obtain'd a very signal Victory over *C. Flaminius* the Consul, at the Lake [a] *Thrasimenus*, where having circumvented him by ambush, he cut him off with his whole Army. In a short time after, he serv'd *C. Centenius* in the same manner, who with a chosen party of Men, had possess'd himself of the Tops of the Mountains. He came from hence into *Apulia*, where the two Consuls *C. Terentius Varro*, and *Lucius Paulus Aemilius* advanc'd towards Him, and in one Battel he routed both their Armies; In which Engagement *Lucius Paulus* the Consul was kill'd, with many more who had sustain'd that Dignity, amongst whom was *Cn. Serilius Geminus*, who had enjoyed it the foregoing year. After this Action, He march'd to *Rome* without any Opposition.

position. He halted for some time on the neighbouring Mountains, and in a few days after decamp'd from thence. In his return to *Capua*, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Roman Dictator, oppos'd himself to him in the *Falernian Field*. Tho the Streights were so very narrow, that *Hannibal's* Army was perfectly shut up, yet by the advantage of the Night he got away without any damage. Here it was, that he outwitted that subtle Commander *Fabius*: For in the dead of the Night he commands his Souldiers to set fire to the Boughs of the Trees, which he had before order'd to be fasten'd to the Horns of a considerable number of Oxen, which he drove in a hurry upon them. This unexpected sight was no sooner beheld, but it put the *Roman* Army into such a consternation, that not a man offer'd to stir out of his Trenches. A few days after, he defeated *Marcus Minutius Rufus*, General of the Cavalry (whose Command at that time, by the Votes of the People, was made equal to that of Dictator) whom he had cunningly decoy'd into a Battel. And tho he was not present at the Action (as being then in *Lucania*), yet at a distance he laid an Ambush for *Titus Sempronius Gracchus*, the second time Consul, and slew him; as he did *Mar-*

ens Claudius Marcellus, who had five times bore that Office. 'Twould be a tedious work to give a distinct Relation of each particular action; so that this short Account shall suffice, to shew the World how extraordinary a Person he was. That so long as he was in *Italy* no man was able to resist him in Battel, neither durst any one after the Defeat at *Cannæ* make Head against him in the Field. Being thus far a Conqueror, He was at last call'd home to the Relief of his own Country. He was employed in the management of the War against the Son of that *Scipio* whom he had formerly beaten on the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Po*, having likewise defeated him near the River *Trebia*. But the Affairs of his Country being in a desperate condition, he was very willing (in a Conference with *Scipio*) to put an end to the War at present, that he might be in a better condition to renew it. Accordingly they had an interview; but the Conditions proposed were such as could not be agreed upon. So that in a few days afterwards he fought him at *Zama*; in which battel, *Hannibal* being utterly routed, with incredible speed, in the space of two days and two nights, arriv'd at *Adrumetum*, which is three hundred miles distant from *Zama*. In
this

this flight the *Numidians* (who quitted the Battel at the same time with *Hannibal*) conspir'd against him; but he had not only the good Fortune to avoid their Treachery, but to suppress them. Here he rallied together all those who had saved themselves by flight; and new Musters being made, in a few days he list'd a considerable number. While he was thus earnestly employed in making preparations for a War, the *Carthaginians* conclude a Peace with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* notwithstanding had the Command of an Army, and (together with his Brother *Mago*) was in Action in *Afric* till the time that *P. Sulpicius* and *Caius Aurelius* were Consuls; for 'twas during their Magistracy, that the *Carthaginian* Embassadors were sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to return thanks to the Senate and People for the Peace they had granted; and in consideration of the Favour, to present them with a Golden Crown; intreating them withal, that their Hostages might be remov'd to *Fregellæ*, and their Prisoners Restor'd. To whom the Senate gave this answer, That as their Present was very grateful and acceptable to them, so likewise they consented, that their Hostages might be lodg'd where they had desir'd; but that their Captives should

should by no means be releas'd, because they still employ'd *Hannibal* (the Author and Beginner of the War, and the irreconcilable Enemy of the *Roman* Name) with his Brother *Mago*, in the chief Command of their Armies. They no sooner receiv'd this answer, but *Hannibal* and *Mago* were recall'd home again. *Hannibal* at his return was chosen Prætor, after he had been King twenty-two years. For as it was customary at *Rome*, yearly to elect two Consuls; at *Carthage* two Kings were annually chosen. He acquitted himself in this Employment, with the same Prudence as he did in War; For he took care, that the new Imposts should not only furnish Money for the Tribute paid to the *Romans*, but that some over and above should be left to lay up in the Exchequer. The year after his Prætorship, Embassadors arriving at *Carthage*, *Hannibal* suspecting they came to demand him, privately takes ship before they could have Audience of the Senate, and flies to King *Antiochus* in *Syria*; which when the *Carthaginians* knew, they immediately sent out two Ships with orders to apprehend him if they could overtake him; which not being able to effect, they confiscated his Goods, raz'd his House to the very ground, and proclaim'd him a Banisht

Man. In the Consulship *Lucius Cornelius* and *Quintus Minutius* (which was three years after his departure from his own Country) He Cruis'd for some time about the Coast of *Cyrenaica* with five Ships , endeavouring to perswade the *Carthaginians* to renew the War upon the confidence of *Antiochus* his strength, whom he had already perswaded to invade *Italy* ; then He engag'd his Brother *Mago* in the design, of which the *Carthaginians* being inform'd, they us'd him with the same severity they had inflicted on his Brother. Thus their Affairs being in an ill condition, they set sail for *Asia* to King *Antiochus*. There are two different accounts given of the Death of *Mago*, some Authors affirming that he perished by Shipwrack ; others, that he was murdered by his own Servants. Had *Antiochus* hearken'd to *Hannibal's* Counsel, as well in the management of the War, as he had done in the undertaking it, the decision of the Empire of the World might have been nearer the River *Tibur* than the Streights of *Thermopylae*. But notwithstanding, this Great Commander well understood the Imprudence of his Conduct, yet he would never forsake him in any Enterprize. He was made Admiral of a small Fleet, with orders to convey them from *Syria* into *Asia* ; with this he ingaged the *Rhodian* Navy in the
Pam-

Pamphylian Sea; who being very much Superior to him in number, his party was beaten, tho that Squadron which he himself fought in, had the advantage of the Enemy. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* fearing least he would deliver him up to the *Romans* (as certainly he would have done, had not He prevented him) went in to *Crete* to the *Gortynians*, that he might have time there to consider, how to dispose of Himself hereafter. And here out of his extraordinary subtilty, he foresaw he should be in great danger, by reason of the Covetous humor of the *Cretans*. For he brought a considerable sum of money with Him, the rumour of which he knew was already spread abroad. This therefore was his device; Having fill'd a great number of Vessels with Lead, and covering the top of them with Gold and Silver, He places them in the Temple of *Diana*, in the presence of the *Gortynians*; pretending that He committed his whole Fortune to their Trust. After he had put this cheat upon them, He fills up several Brass hollow Statues (which he had brought along with him) with his money, and throws them negligently in the outward Court. In the mean time, they guard the Temple with the greatest strictness; not so much suspecting other people, as fearing

least *Hannibal*, without their knowledge might remove the prize He had committed to them. Thus our *Carthaginian*, having sav'd his Treasure intire, and finely deluded the people of *Crete*, He came at length to *Prusias* the King of *Bythinia* in *Pontey*; where He still preserv'd his old inclination towards *Italy*, and made it his endeavor to engage the King against the *Roman* People. But when He perceiv'd He was not strong enough of Himself to oppose them, He Associated other Kings, and Warlike Nations in a Confederacy. *Eumenes*, as being a great Friend to the *Roman* Interest, refus'd to joyn in the Alliance; so that they maintain'd a War with each other, both by Sea and Land. But being back'd by the *Romans*, He was infinitely too hard for them. Now *Hannibal* perceiving, how necessary it was for the better success in His Affairs, that *Eumenes* should be cut off, he resolves upon this way to rid himself of Him. They were in a short time to engage at Sea; but *Hannibal* being overpower'd in number, Stratagem was to supply the place of Strength; Accordingly he charges his Men to get as many poysonous Serpents as they could, and put them into Earthen Vessels; of which they procur'd (as commanded) a considerable

siderable number. On the day that they were to fight, having call'd his Seamen together, he gave them order, that they should all rush together upon the Ship in which *Eumenes* was, and that in the mean time, they need not doubt, but that they were able enough to defend themselves from the rest, since they were provided of so great a number of Serpents. It should be his business to shew them which was the Ship he would have assaulted; and likewise to reward the person who should either kill the King, or take Him Prisoner. After he had given these directions, the two Fleets being set in order, and about to engage; That his Souldiers might plainly see, where this *Eumenes* was before the sign was given, He sends out a Messenger in a small Boat, having a white Wand in His hand (as a token of Peace); when he was come near to the Enemies Fleet, he shews them a Letter, asks for the King, upon which he was immediately Conducted to Him, every one taking it for granted, that *Hannibal* had sent him to treat of Peace; the Messenger having thus discover'd to his own Party which was the Kings Ship, returns again. When *Eumenes* had broke open the Letter, he found nothing contain'd therein, but what tended to Laughter

and Contempt of his Person ; He very much wonder'd what the meaning of this should be, which tho he could not understand, without any more ado He engages the Enemy ; At the very first Onset, the *Bythinians*, according to their orders, rushing on all together, beset *Eumenes* his Ship, who being not able to withstand their shock, saved his Life by flight, which he could never have effected, had he not betook himself to his Guards in the neighbouring Shore. When the rest of the Navy of *Eumenes*, began more fiercely to Attack the *Bythinians*, they pour'd in their Vessels upon them, which at first the Enemy only Laught at, who could not devise what their intent could be. But when they perceiv'd that their Ships were full of Serpents, being affrightned with the strangeness of the thing, and knowing not what danger chiefly to avoid, at last they rack'd about, and made to their Port ; So that the Cunning of *Hannibal* was too Powerful for the Force of the *Pergamenan* Navy ; Who by the same kind of stratagem had frequently obtain'd great Victories at Land. While these things were Transacting in *Asia*, King *Prusias's* Embassadors (then at *Rome*) being accidentally at Supper with *Caius Quintus Flaminius* the Consul ;

ful ; somebody accidentally happening to mention *Hannibal's* Name, one of the company said, that He was in their Kingdom. The next day *Flaminius* acquaints the Senate, with what had been affirm'd by this person ; who imagining that they should be never free from Treacheries, so long as *Hannibal* was alive, dispatched Embassadors into *Bythinia*, (one of which was *Flaminius*) who were to demand of the King, that he should not protect their most inveterate Enemy, but forthwith deliver him up into their hands. *Prusias* could not deny, but that *Hannibal* was in his Dominions, tho he refus'd himself to betray him to the Embassadors ; desiring, that they would not Request, any thing which was so much against the Laws of hospitality ; But let them take him if they could, who without any difficulties might find him out. *Hannibal* constantly confin'd himself to one place, being a Castle with which the King had Presented him as a Reward for his Services ; which he so contriv'd, that he had Sallies on all sides, through which he might escape, if he should have occasion ; for he always suspected that that would befall him, which at last did really happen. The Roman

Embassadors accompanied with a great
 number of Men, having at length sur-
 rounded this Castle on all parts; his
 Servant perceiving them from the Gate,
 runs to his Master and acquaints Him,
 that there appear'd a more than usual
 Company of Armed Men; upon which
 He commands him to go round all the
 doors of the House, and speedily bring
 Him word whether there was any way
 to escape. When the Boy had imme-
 diately acquainted him how the case
 stood, and had farther assur'd Him, that
 all the passages were stopp'd, he was soon
 satisfied that this could not happen by
 accident, but that they came to seize his
 person; and that consequently he could
 not long enjoy his Life, which he was
 resolv'd should not be in another Mans
 disposal; upon which he immediately
 swallowed a dose of poyson, which he
 was always accusom'd to carry with
 Him. Thus, this our most Valiant Hero,
 harra's'd with numerous and various
 Labours, repos'd himself in Death the
 seventieth year of his Age. Authors
 do not agree in whose Consulship He
 dyed. For *Atticus* in his Annals affirms,
 that *Clandius M. Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius
 Labeo*, did then bear that Office; *Poly-
 bius* on the other hand asserts, that it
 was in the time of *Lucius Aemilius Pau-
 lus*,

lus, and *Cn. Bælius Tamphilus*. But *Sulpitius* different from both, says, that *P. Corn. Cethegus*, and *Marcus Bælius Tamphilus* were at that time Consuls. Tho this our Great Man was always imploy'd in the business of War, yet He bestowed some time in Learning. For he wrote several Books in the *Greek Tongue*, amongst which, one is an account of the Actions of *Cn. Manlius Volsus* in *Asia*, which he dedicated to the People of *Rhodes*. Many there are who have given an account of the Wars of *Hannibal*, among which were *Philenius* and *Sofilus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who were his Fellow-Soldiers, and liv'd with Him as long as Fortune permitted. He made use of *Sofilus* as his Master, to instruct Him in the *Greek Tongue*.

But now it is time for me to make an end of this History, and proceed to the giving an account of the *Roman Generals*, that comparing each others Virtues, we may be able to make an Estimate, which were the Braver Men.

[a] *New call'd Lago di Perugia.*

THE LIFE OF C A T O.

Done in *English* by Mr. *Edw. Robinson*
of *Merton Coll. Oxon.*

C A T O was a Native of the
Corporation of *Tusculum*;
while Young, before he en-
gag'd in Publick Affairs, he
Liv'd in the Country of the
Sabines, because there was
his Estate left him by his Father; *M.*
Perpenna Censorinus was us'd to relate,
that

that by the encouragement and advice of *L. Valerius Flaccus*, (who was afterwards his Partner both in the Offices of Consul and Censor) he remov'd to *Rome*, and apply'd himself to the Law. When he was seventeen years old, he list'd himself a Soldier, which was under the Consulship of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. He was a Tribune in the Army of *Sicily*: when he return'd thence, he went a Volunteer into the Army under the Command of *M. Claudius Nero*; where he did very good service in the the Battel of *Sena*, in which *Hasdrubal*, *Hannibal's* Brother, was slain. He was by lot chose Questor to *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the Consul, with whom he did not live in that Friendship which the Duty of the place requir'd; and no wonder, considering the whole course and bent of his Life was so contrary to that of *Scipio's*. He was made *Ædile* with *C. Helvius*. When he was *Prætor*, he had the Province of *Sardinia* allotted him for his Government; From whence some time before (when he was Questor) as he was returning out of *Africk*, he invited and brought along with him *Q. Ennius* the Poet, which was a prize if no less valus, than the greatest Triumph *Sardinia* could afford. He was Consul with *L. Valerius*

Valerius Flaccus; He gain'd by lot the Government of *Hispania Citerior*; From whence he return'd loaden with the Honours of a Triumph. He continu'd in his Province something longer than was usual, upon which *Scipio Africanus*, (who was now again Consul, and whose Questor *Cato* had been in his former Consulship) endeavour'd to remove him, and succeed in it himself: *Scipio* was then the greatest Man in *Rome*, yet was his interest not strong enough to gain this point of the Senate: Because at that time affairs were not Govern'd by Power, or the sway of a Faction, but according to the severe Rules of Justice, But this disappointment so disgusted *Scipio*, that when that Session of the Senate was ended, he retir'd from Publick Employment, and liv'd privately in the City; *Cato* being Elected Censor with the foremention'd *Flaccus*, behav'd himself in that office with a great deal of rigor: He censur'd several of the Nobility; publish'd new Edicts to restrain the growth of Luxury, which at that time began to show it self in its buds. He spent about eighty years from his Youth to the last days of his Life, in the service of the Common-Wealth, in all which time, the sincere pursuit of the interest of the Common-Wealth continually rais'd him many Enemies, which he

he so little valu'd, that the fear of no Man's displeasure could influence him so far as to alter his measures. Very many there were, who fram'd accusations against him, which were so far from injuring his Reputation, that his good Name grew as fast upon him as his Age. He was a Man of great Conduct and Application in Business; He was a skilful Husbandman, a good Statesman, a good Lawyer, a great General, a persuasive Orator, and none more addicted to Learning: He did indeed apply himself to Letters something late, yet was there scarcely any thing in the *Greek* or *Roman* Literature, that he did not perfectly understand. From his Youth he exercis'd himself in the composing of Orations. When he was old, he entertain'd himself with writing History, of which he left seven Books; The first contains the Actions of the *Roman* Kings: The second, gives an account of the Founding and Beginning of each City in *Italy*, upon which reason possibly he entitles his Books *Origines*. In the fourth, he gives a relation of the first *Punick* War, and in the fifth of the second; and of all these things he has only given us the Heads or matter of Fact, without engaging in the particular circumstances of Affairs: After the same manner

ner he wrote the rest of the *Roman Wars*, even to the Prætorship of *Ser. Galba*, (who has the infamy of pillaging of *Lusitani* fix'd upon his name). In these his *Chronicles* of the Wars, he did not mention any Commanders, but without any names at all, gave us the naked Event of things. We have given a more particular account of his Life and manners, in that History, which at the Request of *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, we wrote on purpose concerning him, to which we remit the Lovers of *Cato*.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
ATTICUS.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Morgan* of
St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

POMPONIUS *Atticus* was
Descended of one of the most
ancient Houses in *Rome*, and
the Dignity of a Knight was
deriv'd down to him from his
Ancestors, being an Honor
Inherent in his Family. His Father was
an industrious Man, and very indulgent
towards

towards him ; was of a Genius Accommodated to the times, and very studious ; As He was a Lover of Learning himself, so he infus'd those inclinations into his Son ; for he train'd up his Youth in all those Sciences which his tender Age was capable of : But the Lad, besides a great docility of Wit, had an extraordinary sweetness of Aspect and Elocution ; so that he not only quickly apprehended what was taught him, but pronounc'd it too with a very agreeable cadence. These Attainments so early disclosing themselves, got him an high Reputation, and dazl'd his Cotemporaries ; for he gave brighter hopes of himself, than those other young Gentleman who were his School-Fellows could look stedily upon ; so that his forwardness of Example piqu'd them all with generous incitements. Amongst whom were *L. Torquatus*, *C. Marius*, *Caius* his Son, and *M. Cicero*, whom he so gain'd to him by the obliging air of his Conversation, that no Person was always so dear to them as He himself. His Father died in a little time, and he being very young, run a great hazard, by reason of his being related to *P. Sulpitius*, who was kill'd when he was Tribune of the People. For *Anicia* who was Cousin German to *Pomponius*, Married *Servius*, who was
 Brother

Brother to *Sulpitius*; therefore, after *Sulpitius* was slain, and he saw the City Embarrass'd with the Commotions of *Cinna*, so that he could not live with that Port which became his Quality, for the Interests of the Citizens were divided, some addicting themselves to the Faction of *Cinna*, and others to that of *Sylla*, thinking it a fair opportunity to follow his Studies, He went to *Athens*; But this did not hinder, but that he bestow'd Money upon young *Marius*, who was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and supplied him when he was a Fugitive; and that his withdrawing from *Rome* might not prejudice his Domestick Affairs, He convey'd the greatest part of his Fortune along with him thither. Here he liv'd after that manner, that he was peculiarly belov'd by all the *Athenians*; For, besides the Credit He had acquir'd, which was very great for a Young-Man, He reliev'd them in their Publick Exigents; for when they were to take up Money of the Bankers upon any great Payments, and could not obtain equitable Conditions, He always so seasonably interpos'd, that, as he demanded no interest for the sums he disburs'd, so he would not let them owe longer than the time they promis'd to refund them; and this procur'd them a double advantage: for

Q

he

he would neither suffer the Debt to grow upon them by his forbearance, nor the Usury of it to be multiplied. He made an accession to this Courtesie by another piece of Liberality: for he distributed Corn amongst them all, and gave to each of them six bushels of Wheat, which sort of Measure is called *Medimus* by the *Arbenians*; here his carriage was so adjusted, that as He was familiar to those below him, so he was equal to those of the first Quality. This had that grateful influence upon them, that they would have confer'd all the honours upon him they possibly could, and made him a Citizen: but this offer he refused, because according to some Mens opinion, he that is made a Denizon of another City, forfeits the Freedom of his own. Whilst he liv'd amongst them, he always opposed their design of Erecting a Statue to him, but he could not hinder it when he was gone; so that in his absence, they Celebrated the Memories of him and *Pilia* his Wife, by this lasting sort of remembrance, even in the most consecrated places of the City; for in every concern of the Commonwealth, they always followed his Conduct and Advice; therefore it was a partiality of Fortune to him, to be a Native of *Rome*, which was

was the Seat of the Empire of th^e World : and that which was his Country, was his Mistress too, to whom he wa^s Constant in his Observances ; and it wa^s a Glorious instance of his Wisdom, tha^t when he went to *Athens*, which claim^s the Preeminence above all other Citie^s for Antiquity, Humanity and Learning, they should make choice of him amongst all Mankind to be their Darling. When *Sylla* came here out of *Asia*, as long as he tarried, he had always Young *Atticus* in his Company, for he was extreamly charmed with his good Parts, and the sweetness of his humour : for he spoke *Greek* so perfectly, that he seem'd to be born in *Athens* ; and had that delicious fluency in the *Latin* Tongue, that it was very apparent, that the smoothness of it was natural to him, and not Acquir'd. He would repeat Poems in both these Languages, so that nothing could exceed him ; this so endear'd him to *Sylla*, that he would scarce let him be out of his sight, and he had a great desire to have brought him away along with him : but when he endeavour'd to perswade him to it, *Pomponius* return'd him this Answer, Do not, Sir, carry me to Fight against those, upon whose account I left Italy, that I might not bear Arms against thy self : But *Sylla* praising the Young Man for the

good Offices He had done him, ordered when He went away, that the Presents which were given him whilst he was at *Athens*, should be carried to his House, as the tokens of his thankfulness. Here he remained many years, and tho he bestowed much inspection upon the Affairs of his House, as became the diligence of one that was Master of a Family, and spent the rest of his time either in Study, or managing the business of the *Athenians*, yet he continued his kindness to his Fellow-Citizens; For he canvass'd at all their Publick Elections, and when any thing of importance was transacted, he was never wanting in his solicitations. To *Cicero* he shewed himself singularly faithful in his last extremities: for when he was forced to abandon his Country, he gave him (*a*) two hundred and fifty thousand *Sesterces*; But when all these Turbulencies were quieted, and the *Tybur* ran calmy, he returned home, and as I think when *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were Consuls. The day of his departure, the whole City of *Athens* so deplored, that by the tears of their sorrow they expressed the greatness of the love they had for him; he had an Uncle whose name was *Q. Cecilius*, a Roman Knight, an intimate friend of *L. Lucullus's*, and very Rich,
but

but he was otherwise of a morose Nature, and difficult to be pleased ; but *Atticus* so softened his temper, which was intolerable to every one else, that he gain'd his good will, and retain'd it even to a decrepit Age ; and then he reap'd the fruits of that Piety, with which he cultivated his sower humor, for he adopted him and made him Heir to all that he had ; which Inheritance amounted to ten [b] millions of *Sesterces*. The Sister of *Atticus* was Married to *Q. Tullius Cicero*, and *Marcus* his Brother was a great promoter of the match ; Between whom and *Atticus* there was a familiarity, even from their being School-Fellows together, and a closer friendship maintain'd than with *Quintus* ; that from hence we may form a judgement, that in the Unions of that Society, the resemblance of a like disposition prevails more than Affinity ; *Hortensius* too was his bosome friend, who at that time had the chief vogue for Eloquence: so that it was a matter utterly undecided, which lov'd him best, either him or *Cicero*; by this means he solv'd an inconsistency in these two Orators, which was a thing not easy to be attempted ; for tho' there was a strong Contest betwixt them for Applause, yet they never broke out into any revilings of one another, but both agreed

in esteeming him. He so Comported himself in the Commonwealth, that as he was always of the best side, so he had the luck to be thought so. But he never was a party in the Civil Wars, for it was his opinion, that those who embarque in quarrels of that nature, have no more Ascendant over themselves when the Waves of Sedition work high, than those who commit their Fortunes to a Tempest. He never was ambitious of any honor, tho the access was easy to his pretensions, not only by reason of his Credit, but his Quality; he saw that Men were not so fair Candidates for it as their Fore-Fathers, they being so profuse in their Bribes to gain Votes, that the Offices of the Commonwealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate; nor could they be discharg'd without danger, there being such a general corruption of Manners, which Epidemically run through all the City. He never was a purchaser of any goods that were sold by outcry, and as he never farmed any of the Public Revenues, so he never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Process against any one; nor subscrib'd to anothers Accusation; for he never went to Law, nor had ever any definitive Sentence. When many

ny Consuls and Pretors offer'd him Governments, he would not follow any of them into their Provinces, but contenting himself with the honour of the Proposal, he rejected the profits of it; he denied to go with *Q. Cicero* into *Asia*, tho he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for he did not think it decent to be in subordinate Authority to a Pretor, who had refus'd the first Dignity it self; and by this means, he not only Consulted his Honor, but his ease likewise, and avoided the least umbrages of a Crime, that he might live unsuspected; the result of this caution was, that the assistances he paid his friends were the more acceptable, because they were sincere, when they were the effects only of a readiness to oblige, and could not be imputed to such servile motives as Hope and Fear. When he was about sixty years old, the civil War of *Cæsar* burst out into a flame; but he enjoy'd the priviledge his Age indulg'd him, and never stir'd out of the City; But those of his friends who went over to *Pompey's* side, he furnish'd their Expeditions out of his own Store; but *Pompey* could not think He was disregarded, if he did not actually joyn him Himself, for he had not receiv'd any advantages from him, which might en-

courage him to it, as others had done, who by his Countenancing them were become Powerful and Rich; some of whom followed his Camp, but with regret and very unwillingly, and others ungratefully tarried at home, which very highly offended him. But the Neutrality of *Atticus* was so grateful to *Cæsar*, that when he was Conqueror, and dispatch'd Imperious Mandates to private Persons to Command their Mony from them, he not only not molested him, but pardon'd his Sister's Son which she had by *Quintius*, tho he was of *Pompey's* party; thus by keeping firm to those first maximes of Conduct He laid down for the regulation of his Life, he preserv'd himself safe from all new and emergent dangers; consequent to this, when *Cæsar* was slain, and the Commonwealth seem'd to be devolv'd into the hands of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the Fortune of *Rome* like a Machine turning about toward him; yet he so Careless'd *Brutus*, that the Young-Man never delighted in any ones Company, tho he was of the same Age with himself, with that pleasure as he did in that of the Venerable *Atticus*; for he not only admitted him into his most intimate Councils, but enjoy'd his Conversation at all his Repasts. There was a project set on foot,

foot, that a fund of Treasure should be Constituted by the *Roman* Knights for the Murderers of *Cæsar*; they thought the design very feasible, if the Chief of that Order would Contribute their shares towards it; whereupon *G. Flavius*, who was a great friend to *Brutus*, apply'd himself to *Atticus*, that he would be a principal mover in this Business; but he, who did courtesies to those he respected, without engaging in their Factions, and had always a Temper untainted from designs of that Nature, made this answer, That if *Brutus* wanted any supplies, He would Accommodate him out of his own Money to what value he pleas'd; but that he would never discourse with any man about the Business, nor accord with him in it; so that the united sentiments of a whole party were ruin'd by his single dissent. A little while after *Anthony* began to have the upper-hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* (the affairs of those Provinces which were given them by the Consuls, only for form-sake, becoming desperate) were forc'd to fly for it. But *Atticus*, who never employ'd his Money to support the other party, when they were most flourishing, sent an [c] hundred thousand *Sesterces* to *Brutus* when he left *Italy*, and was broken in his Fortunes, and

and when he was at *Epire*, he order'd
 [d] 300 thousand more to be given him,
 himself being Absent ; and as he never
 the more flatter'd the Power of *Anthony*,
 so he never forsook those who were
 brought to a Precipice. After this fol-
 lowed the War of *Modena*, in which if
 I should only call him Prudent, I should
 detract from his Character, and speak
 less than I ought to do. He was rather
 Divine, if a Constant Natural Goodness
 deserves that Appellation, which is nei-
 ther shaken nor lessen'd by outward ac-
 cidents ; *Anthony* being declar'd a Pub-
 lic Enemy, was forc'd to leave *Italy*,
 and there was no hopes of being Re-
 stor'd ; for not only his Adversaries
 which were very many, and in a great
 Power Combin'd against him, but his
 Friends joyn'd themselves to that num-
 ber, and Revolted from him ; they pla-
 ced all their hopes of Advancement up-
 on his Depression ; they persecuted his
 most intimate Friends, they endeavour'd
 to spoil his Wife *Fulvia* of all her goods,
 and extirpate his Children. *Atticus* as
 he was familiar with *Cicero*, so he was
 a great friend to *Brutus* ; by this means
 he not only restrain'd them from com-
 mitting any outrage upon *Anthony* him-
 self, but he Protected as many of his
 Confederates which fled out of the City,
 as

as much as he possibly could, and supply'd them with all things they stood in need of. He was so kind to *P. Volunnius*, that greater tenderness could not be expected from a Father; and he was so diligent in his services to *Fulvia* when she was harass'd with Law-Suits, and vex'd with melancholy apprehensions, that she never enter'd into any Obligation without *Atticus*, for he was her Stipulator in every thing; particularly when in her prosperous Condition she had bought a parcel of Land, which was to be satisfied for to a day, and now since this Calamity befell her, could not take up Cash enough upon her own credit to discharge the purchase; *Atticus* came in opportunely to redress the grievance, for he lent her Money without interest, or so much as prefixing a day when it should be repaid; for he reckon'd himself the greatest gainer by the Reputation of a grateful and an obliging Man; and thereby made it appear, that he did not contract an acquaintance with *Mens Fortunes*, but their Persons. And tho these were his Actions, yet no one could imagine he did them out of any temporising principle; for it could not rationally enter into any one's opinion, that *Anthony* would ever recover that game

game of Empire he seem'd so utterly to have lost ; but every now and then he receiv'd secret checks from some of the Nobility, objecting to him, that his hatred was not intense enough against such profligate Citizens. But he confiding in his own Judgment, had a regard rather to what ought to be done, than what other Men would commend, whether it was right or no. For the scene of Fortune swiftly chang'd, and when *Anthony* return'd into *Italy*, every one was in pain for *Atticus* ; for they thought He must be involv'd in great risques, by reason of the strict Communication that was between him, and *Brutus*, and *Cicero* ; therefore when the Triumvirate approach'd the City, he went out of it, for he fear'd Proscription, and absconded in the house of *P. Volumnius*, to whom he was so Eminently Serviceable, as we have shew'd before. So Capricious was the turn of affairs in those times, that sometimes one party, and sometimes another, would either be in the height of Prosperity, or the Abyss of Misfortune. He was not alone in this Retirement, but *Q. Gallus Caninus*, who was of the same Age, and resembled him in the Customes of his Life, was the Companion of his Obscurity ; and this is another instance of the good nature of *Atticus*, that he liv'd so lovingly

vingly with him whom he knew from his Childhood, and was his Play-fellow, for their friendship grew up with their years, and lasted even to an extreme old Age. *Anthony*, tho he was so inveterately angry with *Cicero*, that he not only declar'd open enmity against him, but threatn'd all his Abettors, and was resolv'd to Proscribe them; yet when many made Remonstrances to him in the behalf of *Atticus*, and he himself call'd to mind the Engagements he had formerly laid upon him, he as suddenly Relented, so that he Writ to him with his own hand to know where he was; bid him not be afraid, but that he should immediately come to him, for that he had struck him and *Gellius Caninus* out of the number of the Proscrib'd; Besides he sent him a Guard to assure him in the darkness, and free him from the dangers of the Night; by this means his fears were dispers'd, and he not only secur'd himself, but was an instrument of safety to the Man who was next dear to him. For he never solicited to be out of trouble alone, but in Conjunction with his friend, that by this it might appear, that Men who love one another are not to be divided in their Fortunes. If that Pilot therefore deserves applause who steers his Ship in a Winter Sea,
when

when the Season is as rough as the Ocean, why. should not his Prudence merit a particular Encomium, who arriv'd at safety through so many Civil broils, and such Storms in the State? When he had work'd himself out of these distresses, he was intent upon nothing else than how he might assist as many as he could, and in what things he was able. When the Triumvirate set a price upon the heads of the Proscrib'd, that the prospect of a reward might encourage the rabble to a search, there was not any one who fled into *Epire* who wanted for any thing; and he gave them liberty to make it their perpetual Residence; besides, after the Battel at *Philippæ*, and the Slaughter of *C. Cassius* and *M. Brutus*, he was resolv'd to shelter *L. Julius Mucilla*, the Pretor, and his Son *Aulus Torquatus*, and the rest who were beaten down with the same stroke of Fortune; and he commanded likewise supplies to be sent them when they Retir'd out of *Epire* into *Samothracia*. It is very hard, and indeed not necessary, to run minutely through all his Actions: this only I contend for, and which ought to be understood, that his Liberality was not cover'd over with any Sinister design, nor was it to humor the present current of Affairs; this may be concluded from the things themselves; and

and the Complexion of those times; for he never sided with the Prosperous, but always succour'd those who were in affliction; for he was as Assiduous in his respects to *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus* after the death of her Son, as when he was living and most happy. Being so Generous, he could not well proveke any one to be his Enemy, for he never offer'd an injury, and if another was the Aggressor upon him, he chose rather to forget then Revenge the Affront: If he receiv'd a Civility, the impression of it was Immortal, never to be effac'd; but if he confer'd one, it easily fell out of his mind, till he that was oblig'd renew'd the memory of it by his acknowledgments; doing after this manner, he confirm'd the truth of that saying, *That every one owes his lucky hits to the conduct of himself*; but the making his Fortune, was the last thing in his Intention, he first form'd his Manners, as a previous Qualification, and with such an exquisite niceness, that he might not justly be charg'd with any thing that was culpable. By this means it came to pass, that when *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, who was the Favourite of young *Octavius*, might have had his choice out of the Ladies of the best Condition in *Rome*, by reason of his own Credit, and the Power

Power of *Cæsar*, yet he was ambitious of being related to him, and desir'd rather to marry the Daughter of a *Roman Knight*, as the nobler Alliance; The chief Manager of this Match (for it is not to be conceal'd) was *Anibony*, who was one of the *Triumvirate* for settling the Commonwealth. Being shin'd upon by his favor, He might have made large Additions to his Estate, but he was so little infected with the love of Money, that he never us'd it but in those occasions where his freind was to be freed from danger, and eas'd of any thing that incommoded him. An illustrious instance of this was in the time of the *Proscription*; for when the *Triumvirate* had sold the Goods of *L. Sausseius* a *Roman Knight*, according to the custom which then obtain'd, who was of the same Age with himself, had resided many years at *Athens* to Study *Philosophy*, and had noble Lordships in *Italy*; *Atticus* carried himself in this business with so much Industry and address, that the same Messenger who brought him word that He had lost his *Patrimony*, contradicted his own news, by telling him, that he had recover'd it again. He likewise clear'd off *L. Julius Calidius*, who I am bold to affirm, after the death of *Lucretius* and *Catullus*, was the

the most Elegant Poet of his time ; he was no less famous for the integrity of his Morals, and his being Educated in all the best Arts ; This Man after the Knights were proscrib'd, tho he was absent, yet he was brought into the number by *P. Volumnius*, who was Overseer of the Workmen of *Anthony* ; and his great Possessions in *Africk* made him obnoxious to this punishment ; So that it made it a puzzling question , whether there was more difficulty in the undertaking, or Glory in the performance. But it was a Character of *Atticus* generally known, that it was his care as much to releive his absent freinds as those that were present ; and he was as good a Father of a Family as He was a Citizen ; for tho he was a great Monied-Man, yet no one was so moderate a Purchaser, nor Built less than He did ; not but that he liv'd very Commodiously, and what things he serv'd himself of, they were the best of their kind. His House was Situate in the *Quirinal Hill*, which was an Inheritance left him by his Uncle, whose pleasantness did not consist in the Curiosity of the Structure, but in the Wood that encompass'd it ; for being a Pile rais'd after the ancient manner, it had more of conveniency in it than beauty ; and he never made any

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Alterations, but where the decays by the injury of time requir'd to be repair'd ; his Family, if we judge of them by their usefulness, was extraordinary ; but if we regard only the outward appearance, it was scarce tolerable : for it was made up of Lads who were very good Scholars, could read excellently well, and write delicate hands for Transcribing, and there was scarce any Foot-boy but could do either of them to admiration ; all the Artificers too, whose Art was necessary for the Adorning his Apartments, were the choicest of their Profession. And there was not one of them but was born and run through the Novitiate of their several Trades in his House ; which was a sign not only of his moderation, but great industry : for not to be intemperate in our desires after those things which others so eagerly covet, is a great continency of temper : and to acquire that by diligence which others are at an expence for, argues a more then ordinary Application. *Atticus* was rather Polite than Magnificent : he did all things for his Honor, but without any excess of cost ; he was always clean and neat, but did not affect an Effeminate niceness. As for his Moveables and Furniture they were Competently Rich, and did not abound ; so that he avoided

avoided the two extremes of being stingy and profuse. I will not omit one thing, tho to some it may seem a matter of light importance, That tho He was one of the most Splendid of the *Roman* Knights, and receiv'd Men of all conditions at his House with a Liberal Hospitality, yet he spent no more than just [e] three thousand Asses a month, as appears by the register of his Disbursements ; and this I do not speak by hearsay, but as a thing I am certain of; for by reason of the familiarity betwixt us, I was Conversant in the Family, and was at the casting up of the Accounts ; he had no other Comfort at all his Feasts but only a single Reader, which in my opinion was the most ravishing Musick ; nor did he ever Sup without one of these Lectures ; that whilst their Appetites were Regaled, the minds of the Guests might be entertain'd with something more diverting ; for he never invited any one to his Table but in whom he discerned a disposition conformable to his own. Tho Riches flow'd in upon him, yet he never heightned his daily Provisions, nor deviated from the former measures of his Life ; for he was so moderate, that when he was worth but [f] twenty hundred thousand *Sesterces*, he did not Live in gloriously, which was the Estate

left him by his Father; so when it amounted to [g] ten millions, he did not raise his Port to any greater Affluence than what he first design'd; for he kept inalterably to the same pitch in either fortune. As for his other Recreations, he had no Gardens with Parterres, nor no delightful place to take the air in the Suburbs; he had no Sumptuous *Villa* near the Sea-shore, nor indeed in all *Italy*, except it were at *Ardea* and *Nomentum*, which were only two Country-farms; And all the Revenues he had, consisted in the Lands he had at *Epire*, and some Possessions in the City; from whence it may be known, that he did not make his estimate of Money by the immense quantity, but the rational use of it. As he was always a Man of strict veracity himself, so he abhor'd lying in another; therefore his courtesy was mix'd with somewhat that was Austere; and he was Affable, but Grave; so that it was hard to say, whether his Friends Lov'd or Reverenc'd him most; whatever was entreated of him, he would promise solemnly to do it, for it was his opinion that he was not a generous but an inconstant Man, who would engage for that which he was not able to perform. He was so industrious in bringing an affair to a result which he had once espous'd, that

that he seem'd to Transact his own concern and not anothers, which was deputed to his Management: and when he had once undertaken a business, he was unwearied in his pursuits, for he thought his Reputation was Interests'd in it, of which he was jealous even to a delicacy. By this means he solicited the business of *Marcus* and *Quintius Cicero*, of *Marius*, *Cato*, *Hortensius*, *Aulus Torquatus*, and many other Roman Knights; from whence we may infer, that it was an effect of his judgment, and did not proceed from any unactive temper, that he declin'd the publick Functions of the Commonwealth. A greater instance of the Complaisance of his humor cannot be given than this, that when he was a Young-Man he was very agreeable to *Sylla* who was in the decline of his Age; and when himself was old, *M. Brutus* extremely delighted in him, who was in the bloom of his years; he liv'd so amicably with his Contemporaries *Hortensius* and *Cicero*, that it is hard to say to which Age his Genius was most adapted; but *Cicero* Lov'd him the most fervently of the two, for it was to the last degree of affection; so that his Brother *Quintius* was not dearer or more familiar to him; the real evidences of it, besides those Books in which he makes mention of him,

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which are already publish'd, are those sixteen Volumes of Epistles which he sent to *Atticus* from the beginning of his Consulship even to his latter days, which whosoever reads, he will not desire a more Connected History of those times; for in them the inclinations and designs of Princes, the faults of Generals in their Conduct, and the Revolutions of the Commonwealth, are so perspicuously trac'd out, that all the intrigues of State are unravell'd, and the springs of Policy seem to lye open; so that from hence we may conclude, that Prudence is a sort of Divination; For *Cicero* not only pointed out all the accidents of his own time, but with a brisker heat of Prophecy foretold all the events which have happend since, and we sensibly experience. What need I Commemorate any thing more of the Plety of *Atticus*? When I heard him Glorifying thus justly of himself, in the Funeral-Oration he made upon his Mother, whom he buried at ninety years of Age, himself being sixty-seven, That he never had any occasion to be reconcil'd to her, and no difference ever happen'd betwixt Him and his Sister, who was almost of the same Age with himself; which are manifest indications, either that no causes of Dissatisfaction ever arose between them,
and

and so there was no need of Cement where nothing was brokeh; for that he was so kind to his Relations, that he thought it even a piece of Irreligion to be angry with those whom he had all the obligations upon him to Love. And this he did not so much by the tender instinct of Nature, whose suggestions we are all obsequious to, but it was the effect of his Learning, and he acquir'd it by Study; for the Precepts of the chief Philosophers were closely impress'd upon him, and they did not serve for Parade and ostentation, but he made them useful to him in the whole course of his Life. He set the Manners of the Antient Romans before him as the patterns of his imitation; and fairly copied out the great Originals; He was likewise a Studious Lover of Antiquity: this knowledge he intimately convers'd with, and gave large demonstrations of it in the Volume he Wrote of Magistracy, which was a Province he ingeniously adorn'd: for there was not a Law made, no Peace concluded, nor no War undertaken, not an Action of Consequence done by the Roman People, but he hath related it with a strict Chronology, and adjust'd every occurrence to its proper time: and which seems an attempt of great intricacy, he hath interwoven in it the pedigrees

grees of some Families, with so fine a texture, that by them we may know the beginnings of those Men who have made any considerable Figure in *Rome*. He did the same thing separately in other Books ; as at the entreaty of *M. Brutus*, he deriv'd the *Junian* Family from its first Source, and shew'd all the Channels in which it hath flow'd down even to our times ; distinctly numbring each one's Predecessor in a true series of Succession, and relating what Honors they attain'd to, and in what times they enjoy'd them : he did the like courtesy for *Marcellus Claudius* concerning the *Marcelli* ; and at the instances of *Scipio Cornelius* and *Fabius Maximus*, he gave an account of the *Cornelian*, the *Fabian*, and the *Emilian* Families ; and nothing carries with it so endearing a relish as these Books to those who have the least tincture of curiosity to be acquainted with the descents of Illustrious Men ; he had a smattering too in Poetry, which I believe was, that he might not be ignorant what sweetness there was in it ; for if any had arriv'd to a higher pitch of Dignity beyond the ordinary *Romans*, or had signaliz'd themselves by any notable performances, he employ'd his Poetical Talent to Record their Gallantry ; for he describ'd their Exploits, and what Charges they had in the Government

ment under each of their Pictures, and this in no more than four or five Verses, which seems a thing almost incredible, that he could comprise transactions of such high moment in so narrow a compass. He Writ a Book also in *Greek* concerning the Consulship of *Cicero*. These things we have related of him were whilst *Atticus* was alive; but now since the malignity of fate will have us to outlive him, we will run through the rest of his Actions, and dispatch what remains of this Great Man; that by real and bright examples, we may instruct the Reader, and so confirm that axiome we have before laid down, *That every one allures Fortune to his side according as he managetb himself*; for *Atticus* contenting himself with the Paternal Dignity of a Knight which descended to him, he at last came to be related to the Son of *Julius*, and the friendship between them was heightned into Affinity; for he had before gain'd the confidence of *Augustus* by the elegancy of his Living; and this was the inducement by which he attracted others of the chiefeft rank in the City to his Conversation, who were of as Noble an Extraction as the Emperor, but their condition was unequal, because not so prosperous; for fortune seem'd to fawn upon *Cæsar*, and so constant

stant a success still followed him, that all the Honors she ever decreed to any of her Favourites, she confer'd upon him, and with her Auspicious gales convey'd him to the utmost Honor which the ambition of a Citizen could aspire to. *Agrippa* made *Atticus* a Grandfather, who married his Daughter when she was a tender Virgin; this Female-Infant, tho she was scarce a year old, *Cæsar* betroth'd to *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, which his Wife *Drusilla* had by a former Husband, and was his Son-in-Law: this Alliance confirm'd their former Amity, and tied it on with an inviolable Sanction. Tho before these Espousals, not only when he was absent from *Rome*, when he writ to any of his Friends, he sent to *Atticus* even the minutes of his Life, as what he was then doing, especially what Author he was reading, in what place he resided, and how long he design'd to tarry there: but likewise when he was in the City, and was distracted by multiplicity of business, which gave him so great Avocations, that he could not enjoy him so often as he would, yet the commerce of the Pen was not interrupted, for no day pass'd in which he did not by Letter ask his opinion in some matters relating to Antiquity, or propose some Poetical question: sometimes he

would

would be facetious only; and rally him; that the answers in which he Reparteed might be the more prolix; which had this good effect, that when the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which *Romulus* built in the Capitol, through Age and Peoples Being incurious of its repairs, began to threaten a total ruin, *Cæsar* by the persuasion of *Atticus* took care to support it. *M. Anthony* had him in no less passionate esteem, and maintain'd an intercourse with him of this nature; for when he was banish'd even to the extreame limits of the Empire, yet he certified his *Atticus* to a nice punctilio of what he was then upon, and what design he had in farther Projection: he only is qualified to judge of the greatness of this Correspondence. who can make a true estimate what a piece of Consummate Wisdom it is to retain the favor, and reconcile the jealousies of two great Personages, who were Competitors in the same Ambition, betwixt whom there was not only a bare Emulation, but a perfect Antipathy, which kindled into the mutual upbraiding one another: it was an Aversion as strong as could possibly be between an *Anthony* and a *Cæsar*, who would not divide the Globe but each one contended not only to be Master of *Rome*, but Emperor of the World. Through
all

all these Traverses of Life, he at last arriv'd to the seventy-seventh year, and his Credit and Riches multiplied upon him even to an extream old Age : (for many left him all that they had, purely upon the account of his wonderful Goodness.) But now after he had been of so strong a Complexion, that he had no need of a Physician for thirty years together, his health was so entire, he at last contracted a Disease which himself and his Doctors at first despis'd as a very slight indisposition, for they thought it to be a [*b*] *Tenesmus*, therefore they administred quick and easy applications, to disperse it in its first accesses. After he had languish'd three months, without any more sensible uneasiness than what he receiv'd from the methods of his cure, the whole weight of his distemper sunk at last into one of his guts, which broke out afterwards into a very putrid Fistula : But before this Crisis hapned to him, when he found his pains to encrease, and his blood grow warm, he order'd his Son-in-Law *Agrippa* to be sent for, with *L. Cornelias Balbus*, and *Sextus Peducaeus* : when he saw that they were come, leaning upon his Couch he spoke to them after this manner : *What care have I taken for the preservation of my health, since you all can abundantly attest, a discourse of that*
nature

*nature will be altogether superfluous: hoping therefore that I have given you satisfaction, and being conscious to my self, that I have omitted nothing which carried the least tendency in it towards a cure: it only remains now that I more nearly consult my self, and this is the thing I would acquaint you with, that I am resolv'd no longer to nourish my disease, but starve it: for the sustenance I have taken these last days hath protracted my Life indeed, but it hath prolong'd my afflictions with it, without any hopes of recovery. I therefore beg it of you, that you would first approve of my expedient, and then use no arguments to dissuade me from it, for it will be all in vain. He spoke this with such a strong voice, and such an assured Countenance, as if he was not leaving the World, but passing from one House into another. But Agrippa with tears in his eyes kissing him, did not only entreat but earnestly Conjured him not to Accelerate his fate himself, but let nature bring it leisurely upon him; and since there were remains of health which would in Life keep some time longer, that he would suffer himself to survive both for his own sake and that of his friend: but He rejected his importunities with an obstinate silence. Thus after two days rigid abstinence, his Fever went off without any paroxysms, and
all*

all the Symptoms were manifestly abated : but he thinking it not worth the while to live, would not recede from his first purpose ; therefore the fifth day after he had taken up this fatal resolution, he departed this Life, which was the day before the Kalends of *April*, *L. Domitius* and *C. Sotius* being Consuls. His body was brought forth in a Litter, as he himself had order'd, without any Funeral Pomp : but all the best Men of the City accompanied the Corps with a numerous Concourſe of the Common People ; he was buried five miles from *Rome* by the *Appion* way, in the Monument of *Q. Cæcilius* his Uncle.

[a] Two thousand eighty three Pounds six shillings and eight pence, English Sterling.
 [b] Eight hundred thirty one thousand three hundred thirty three Pounds six shillings eight pence, Sterl. [c] Eight hundred thirty three Pounds six shillings eight pence, Sterl. [d] Two thousand five hundred Pounds Sterl. [e] Equivalent to ten Pounds Sterl. [f] Sixteen thousand six hundred sixty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence Sterling. [g] The sum total is one hundred thousand pounds Sterl.

For

For these reductions of the Roman Coin to the English Standard, I am oblig'd to the Learned Mr. Wa. [b] This is a fruitless endeavor of Nature, to ease her self, occasion'd by a defluxion of sharp humors, the which irritate the Sphinctors of the Anus.

F I N I S.





